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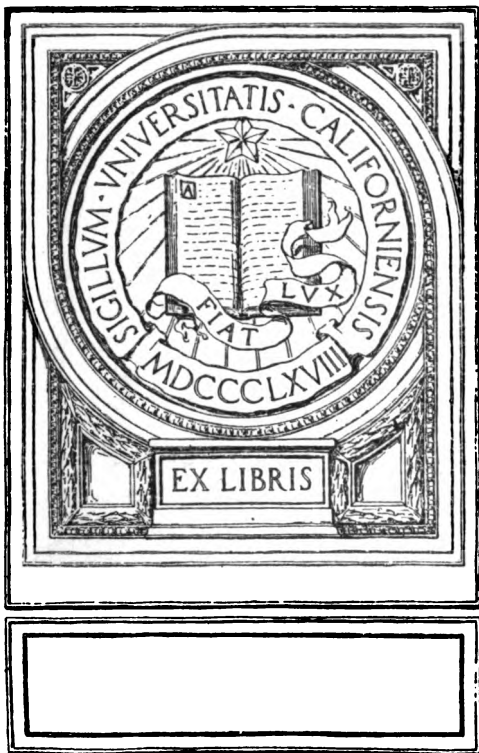
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542.

J. HENRY SENGER.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
**Professor J. Henry Senger**



561



TECHNICAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND TRADE  
EDUCATION.

THE

# GROWTH AND VICISSITUDES OF COMMERCE.

FROM B.C. 1500 TO A.D. 1789.

AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE INDUSTRY  
AND INTERCOURSE OF CIVILISED NATIONS.

By JOHN YEATS, LL.D., ETC.

ASSISTED BY SEVERAL GENTLEMEN.

“Durch Bildung zur Tugend;  
Durch Tugend zur Freiheit.”

LONDON:  
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PATERNOSTER ROW.

1872.

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TO VIND  
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CITY ROAD.

IN MEMORIAM  
Professor J. Henry Senger

ay

To

W. B. HODGSON, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, ETC., IN

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

AND LONG A LABOURER IN THE CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL

AND MORAL PROGRESS,

This Little Volume

ILLUSTRATING THE TRUTHS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,

AND INCULCATING THE NECESSITY AMONG NATIONS,

AS AMONG MUNICIPALITIES AND INDIVIDUALS,

OF

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JOHN YEATS, LL.D.

*Peckham, 1872.*

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“WHEREFORE should there be two opinions concerning the utility of an inquiry into those mighty events that have removed wealth and commerce from the Euphrates and the Nile to the Thames and the Texel? Does not the sun rise, and do not the seasons return to the plains of Egypt, and the deserts of Syria, the same as they did three thousand years ago? Is not inanimate nature the same now that it was then? Are the principles of vegetation altered? Or have the subordinate animals refused to obey the will of man to assist him in his labour, or to serve him for his food? No; nature is not less bountiful, and man has more knowledge and more power than at any former period; but it is not the man of Syria or of Egypt that has more knowledge, or more power. *There he has suffered his race to decay, and, along with himself, his works have degenerated.* When those countries were peopled with men who were wise, prudent, industrious, and brave, their fields were fertile and their cities magnificent, and wherever mankind have carried the same vigour, the same virtues, and the same character, nature has been found bountiful and obedient.”  
—W. PLAYFAIR.

## PREFACE.

---

THE coloured diagram prefixed to this volume illustrates the order of appearance and disappearance on the stage of history of those states which have engrossed the world's trade. It shows which of them were contemporaries, but it does not show the relations that existed between them; nor does it afford any clue to the causes of their prosperity and decline.

The principal object of the book itself is, to give assistance in this direction; and also to allure the reader to independent research. For, next to a study of the materials and the means for the acquisition of wealth, an inquiry into the principles and rules for its preservation must be most important.

In the plan of the work, the course of chronological development has been followed. By a comparison of the circumstances which have attended the rise and decline of many commercial communities, and by a process of reasoning from analogy, the reader is led, it is hoped, to distinguish mere coincidence from causation, and also to discern, among historical incidents acting as causes, the fluctuating from the fixed, the transient from the permanent.

The facts upon which a work like this is founded admit of

selection only. The uses to which they are applied may, however, be original, and to make them such has been my aim throughout. I have freely availed myself of treatises prepared by personal friends for the use of students in continental trade schools, and therefore subjected already to careful literary scrutiny. To those gentlemen, directors of such schools, to Alberda and Dr. Franz, deceased, and to my colleagues here, my best acknowledgments are justly due.

JOHN YEATS, LL.D.

*Peckham, 1872.*

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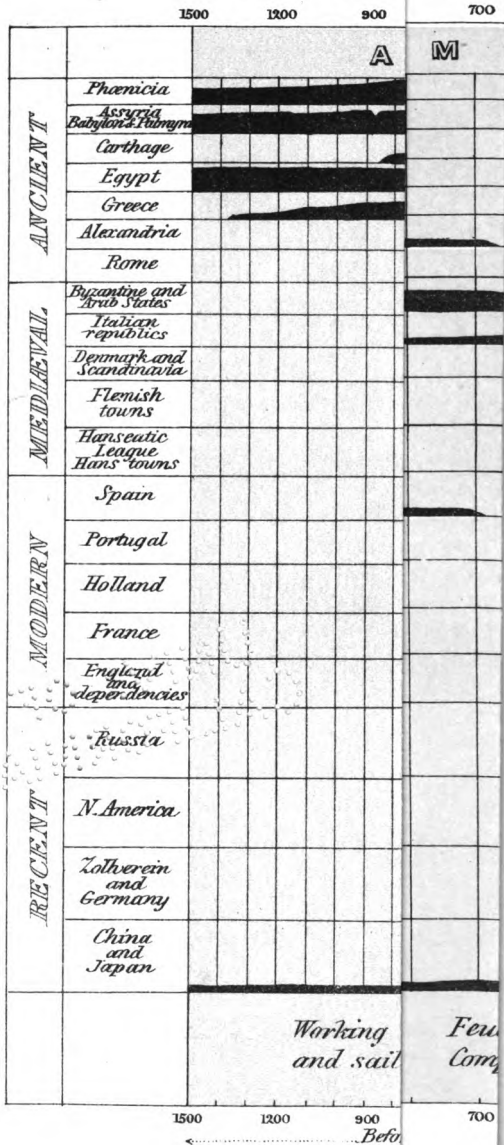
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# Historical and L



Before

## DESCRIPTION OF HISTORICAL CHART.

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THE Chart consists of twenty-one horizontal spaces, each containing an irregularly shaped and shaded diagram or section representing the commercial history of the nation whose name is entered in the columns on the right and left. There are seven nations in the Ancient Period, five in the Mediæval, five in the Modern, and four in the Recent. They are arranged chronologically, the oldest states—China and Japan excepted—at the top, the newest at the bottom.

The horizontal spaces and diagrams are intersected by vertical lines, marking each century from B.C. 1500 to A.D. 1870, as figured at the bottom of the chart. For the fifteen centuries preceding the Christian era, these lines are placed closer together than on the rest of the chart, because the known historical events of that period being necessarily fewer and less certain, less room is required for their insertion. Again, from A.D. 1700 to 1870, the lines are placed farther apart, and additional lines marking each decade of years are inserted, as the historical events of this period being numerous and accurately known, require more room for delineation. The chart is divided also vertically into the four periods of Ancient, Mediæval, Modern, and Recent History. \*

Each shaded diagram is intended to show by the shape of its upper boundary, and therefore by its vertical extension, the commercial importance of the nation it represents, as regards its own condition at various periods compared with that of other nations. The upper boundary rises and sinks



with the prosperity of the nation whose history is depicted. The absence of the shaded diagram, however, or its disappearance, does not necessarily imply the non-existence or complete extinction of the state, but only its comparative insignificance.

The chart forms a pictorial index to the rise, progress, culmination, and decline of each nation; and the position of those epochs relative to the corresponding epochs of other nations, affords a guide to the study of their mutual relations and to the events which have influenced their commercial history.

The chart may be read horizontally for the history of each individual nation; or vertically to find what nations were contemporaneously of commercial importance; or, in the two ways combined.

Thus, in the first way, taking Spain as an example, there was a moderate amount of commerce from about B.C. 500 to A.D. 700, which gradually increased till the middle of the first century B.C., then declined, and, after some fluctuations, became for about four centuries comparatively insignificant. About A.D. 1100 it revived, attained its maximum during the sixteenth century, then declined, fluctuated, and again improved.

In the second way, taking A.D. 500 as an example, it will be seen that there were only four nations of any commercial importance then co-existent, namely, Alexandria, the Byzantine and Arab States, Spain, and China and Japan.

In the third way, taking the same date, A.D. 500, as an example, it will be seen that Alexandria was then declining; Rome was comparatively extinct, and the Italian republics were coming into existence.

Finally, it will be seen that of the twenty-one states delineated, six belong exclusively to the Ancient Period; two exclusively to the Modern and Recent Period; three having their origin in the Ancient Period are now insignificant; and of the nine having their origin in the Mediæval Period, only three are now of importance. China and Japan

extend through all the periods, but until modern times their history is obscure. B.C.

**PHŒNICIA.**—The early history of Phœnicia is involved in obscurity, but it had attained a high state of commercial prosperity at the period when the chart commences, after which Tyre became the chief city, a position it subsequently maintained. The first temporary depression was at the siege of Tyre by the Assyrian king Salmanassar, from the effects of which it did not entirely recover; for, besides the injury caused by the Assyrians, the Greeks, though at first inferior to the Phœnicians in the art of navigation, were extending their maritime commerce. Phœnicia continued, however, prosperous until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, whose unsuccessful siege of Tyre is marked by a depression. New Tyre was then founded, and Phœnicia becoming subject to Babylon, was most severely shaken and its influence began to decline, till the final destruction of Tyre by Alexander. This period concludes the history of Phœnicia as an independent power. Its colonies had become absorbed in other nationalities. Its territory and seaports, of great commercial importance for many succeeding centuries, were first a part of the Macedonian empire, and soon after of the empire of the Seleucidæ. The rise of Alexandria prevented any successful attempt on the part of the Phœnicians to contend against Grecian supremacy, and become again independent.

1500.  
717 to 713.  
585 to 572.  
332.

**ASSYRIA, BABYLON, AND PALMYRA.**—Though but little is yet known of its early progress, Assyria was a great power in Asia before the beginning of history. A short Babylonian revolt is marked on the chart by a depression, but Assyrian power continued undiminished until the final revolt of the Medes and the loss by the Assyrians of the dominion over Upper Asia. Babylon then began to be in the ascendant, and the Assyrian empire became extinct with the capture of Nineveh by the Babylonians and Medes. The Chaldæo-Babylonian empire con-

876.  
About 711.  
606.

B.C.  
 538.   tinued but a short time, being overthrown on the capture  
           of Babylon by the Persians. The prosperity of Mesopo-  
           tamia and Syria as integral parts of the Persian empire,  
 500.   received a check in the revolt of the Greek cities of Asia  
           Minor, and in the war with Greece, which followed; and  
 334 to 330.   another check on the overthrow of the empire by Alexander  
           the Great. They then became part of a Macedonian  
           province, and under the Seleucidæ rose to a high state of  
           commercial prosperity; but the districts east of the Euphrates  
 229 to 140.   were absorbed in the Parthian empire. They became a  
           Roman province B.C. 65, and declined while Alexandria was  
           still rising in importance. Palmyra, which was the emporium  
           for a large overland commerce between the East and the  
           West, became subject to Rome, and continued to rise in  
 A.D. 110.   commercial importance, till, revolting from Rome, it was  
 A.D. 273.   eventually destroyed by this power. The commercial history  
           of this region afterwards formed part of that of the Byzantine  
           and Arab States.

B.C.  
 About 850.   CARTHAGE.—Carthage was a colony from Tyre, and was  
           founded, according to some authorities, about B.C. 878,  
           while others fix a later date. Like Phœnicia, its power was  
           chiefly maritime, and extended over the western part of the  
           Mediterranean Sea and the neighbouring coasts of the  
           Atlantic. Here it was exposed only to the friendly rivalry  
           of Phœnicia, until it reached the zenith of its power at the  
 300.   period when the mother-country had been subdued by the  
           Greeks. It soon afterwards began its struggle with Rome  
           for supremacy, declining rapidly during the second Punic  
 From 218.   war. The contest ended with the destruction of the city of  
 146.   Carthage by the Romans, at the close of the third Punic  
           war. The territory then became a Roman province, and  
           during the ensuing century sank into obscurity.

EGYPT.—As in the two previous instances of Phœnicia  
 and Assyria, Egypt had risen to great importance and a high  
 state of civilisation long previous to B.C. 1500, the anterior

limit of the chart. No fluctuations in its prosperity are sufficiently well known to be marked previous to the Persian conquest. As a province of that empire it suffered no decline, but after having regained its independence, it was again subjected to the Persians, and treated with great rigour, from which it was not relieved until Alexander the Great annexed it to the Macedonian empire. It afterwards rose to commercial prosperity under the Ptolemies, when it became the channel for the Eastern trade between Europe and India, but began to decline rapidly from the Alexandrine war, and was made a Roman province on the death of Cleopatra. Alexandria then takes its place, and Egyptian commerce dies out A.D. 200.

B.C.

525.

350.

332.

48.

30.

In recent times Egypt reappears as an independent state on the revolt of Mahomed Ali from the Turks. About this date the overland mail route between Europe and India through Egypt was commenced, and regularly established in 1834. This was the beginning of a restoration in part of that Eastern commerce to which in ancient times Phœnicia and Alexandria owed the greater part of their prosperity, and which has been now further developed by the construction of the Suez canal.

A.D. 1831.

GREECE.—Athens is supposed to have been founded about B.C. 1433, and at the same period there were extensive migrations of the Hellenes. From a somewhat later period Greece may therefore be said to date its rise—a rise which became more rapid about the time of the legendary Argonautic expedition to Colchis, which indicates the beginning of its Black Sea commerce, and during the Trojan war, when the various states combined against a common enemy. Grecian colonies spread over the coasts of Asia Minor, South Italy, Sicily, and the Black Sea. Cyrene, in Africa, and Massilia (Marseilles), in the Western Mediterranean, were also founded. Mutual jealousies caused rivalries and contentions among its independent states, but they were again obliged to combine to resist the Persian

B.C.

About 1370.

1225.

1192 to 1183.

- B.C. invasion under Xerxes. This contest with Persia began with the revolt of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor and the burning of Sardis, and ended in the colonies being freed from the Persian yoke, and the leading states of European Greece being delivered from all apprehension of a Persian conquest. Jealousy of the supremacy which Athens obtained over the maritime towns and islands led to the first Peloponnesian war, which was followed by frequent civil wars, until Macedonia, first subduing the whole of Greece, once more united it for a common object, the conquest of the Persian empire. For a short time the Græco-Macedonian empire extended over all Asia, from the Mediterranean to India. This empire eventually resolved itself into four great kingdoms, and from that period the power of Greece began to decline. It became a Roman province on the destruction of Corinth, and sank rapidly as the power of Rome increased. In the third century B.C. it was, together with Asia Minor, ravaged by the Goths when Athens was destroyed. Its subsequent history belongs to the Eastern empire, "Byzantine and Arab States."
- 334 to 323.  
301.  
146.  
A.D. 262.

- ALEXANDRIA.**—Alexandria was founded B.C. 332, and its commercial distinction dates from the period when Egypt was erected into an independent kingdom under Ptolemy on the partition of the Macedonian empire amongst Alexander's generals. The site of this city was chosen by Alexander because it possessed the best harbour on the coast of Egypt for defence, and for access at all seasons, and because it was necessary for the existing commerce with Greece. It owed much of its prosperity to Grecian enterprise, and extended its maritime commerce first over the Red Sea, then down the eastern coast of Africa, and ultimately to India. Egypt was made a Roman province, the Roman emperors encouraged commerce and protected it in the Eastern seas, when Alexandria reached its most prosperous state. After the partition of the Roman empire, the Indian trade by the Red Sea began to decline; Constantinople then became the
301.  
292.  
From 330.

chief centre of commerce between Asia and Europe. A.D.  
 Alexandria, however, flourished until the fall of the Western  
 Empire, after which its decline was very rapid; and when 476.  
 captured by the Saracens, A.D. 640, it was in a very depressed  
 state. Cairo, founded A.D. 670, was made the capital of  
 Egypt, and Alexandria sank into obscurity.

On the decline of Constantinople, Alexandria, after the About 1080.  
 lapse of nearly four centuries, having again acquired through  
 Venetian enterprise a position in the India trade, began to  
 rise from the obscurity into which it had fallen, and under  
 the strong government of Saladin and his successors its From 1171.  
 prosperity became considerable. It reached its greatest  
 height when the Black Sea was closed by the Turks against 1475.  
 the Genoese and all other Italians. Egypt was added to the  
 Ottoman empire in 1517. The decadence of Alexandria  
 after this period was more owing to the discovery of the 1498.  
 Cape route to India, which destroyed the Italian monopoly  
 of the Eastern trade, than to any change in the govern-  
 ment. In recent times, with the returning prosperity of  
 Egypt, the port shows signs of renovation.

ROME.—Rome was founded B.C. 753. Although it passed  
 through many vicissitudes, its power and influence were  
 always on the increase. Its naval power dates from the first B.C.  
 Punic war, when it first built a fleet; and by B.C. 190, 260.  
 although its territory was but small, it had become one of  
 the most powerful nations on the Mediterranean. Its  
 annexation of Carthage was simultaneous with that of 146  
 Greece. Spain had already been conquered, and also the  
 islands of the Mediterranean. On the conclusion of civil  
 commotions and the beginning of the consulship of Pompey 70.  
 and Crassus, its territory began to be enormously increased.  
 Syria was added B.C. 65, Gaul subdued B.C. 51, Egypt B.C. 30.  
 When Augustus was made emperor, Rome was at the 27.  
 zenith of its power. In this "Augustine age" its empire  
 circled the Mediterranean, and extended from the Atlantic  
 to the Euphrates. Rome was the ruler of commercial

- A.D. nations, but not in itself commercial. Nearly three centuries were passed in peace and apparent prosperity, but really in internal decline. Occasional wars on the frontiers were scarcely felt in the heart of the territory. The army usurped the government, and raised revolts and civil wars in support of rival candidates for the throne, and left the country open to the plundering expeditions of the outer barbarians.
250. Their first incursions lasted twenty years. The empire
330. was soon after divided, and Constantinople made the capital of the Eastern Empire. The decline of the Western Empire still continued, and the great and final irruption of the barbarians began at the close of the fourth century. They overran and conquered the whole of this division, which became extinct on the final capture of Rome, A.D. 476.

BYZANTINE AND ARAB STATES.—Byzantium was founded, according to Gibbon, B.C. 656, but it held no very prominent position for several centuries. When the Persians had overthrown the Parthian empire, the great trade routes of Central Asia began to be again frequented, and this city, from its geographical position, became the third in the Roman empire, Rome and Alexandria being first and second; so that when refounded as Constantinople, it was confirmed rather than created the capital of the Eastern Empire, and became the centre of commerce between Europe and Asia. This division of the empire soon reached its highest state of commercial prosperity, which it maintained for some centuries, till impaired by the rising power of the Russians and Turks.

- About 240.
- 330.
- 10th cent.
623. The Saracen (Arab) career of conquest began with the battle of Beder. In the course of the next thirty years, this nation had extended over Egypt, Syria, and Persia, and had established a navy on the Mediterranean. Bagdad was founded A.D. 762, and the empire had then extended over a great part of Asia, North Africa, Spain, and the Mediterranean. After the close of the tenth century the Arabs
- 1000.

began to be driven back by the European powers, and soon after by the Turks.

The commerce of the Eastern Empire was almost extinguished after the capture of Constantinople, during the Fourth Crusade. Alexandria was then resuming its old commercial rank. The Turks established themselves in Constantinople A.D. 1400, but it continued in a low state until A.D. 1500, when it again advanced, till the Turks had obtained the command of a large part of the Mediterranean. As their power declined, it eventually sank into obscurity about A.D. 1750.

ITALIAN REPUBLICS.—After the fall of Rome and the Western Empire, that is to say, at the beginning of the Mediæval Period, the free cities of Italy, especially Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, became gradually eminent for their maritime commerce, which received a great impulse from the Crusades, giving them, for some centuries, almost a monopoly of the Mediterranean. Venice established a trade with India through Syria and Egypt at an early date. Genoa shared in the same trade through the Black Sea, by the river and land routes of Central Asia and Southern Europe, and at last obtained the whole of the Black Sea trade. When the Turks closed that sea Venice was able to monopolize the Indian trade, and as the leading Italian power, became the “bulwark of Europe” against the growing ascendancy of the Turks. The wealth and power of the Italian states, however, received a check from an unexpected quarter. The discovery of America opened a new field for enterprise, while the discovery of the Cape route to India rapidly drew off the overland Indian trade.

DENMARK AND SCANDINAVIA.—Towards the close of the eighth century, the piracies of the “Northmen” upon the coasts of Europe became frequent and formidable, and in the course of the next hundred years they had effected permanent settlements over a great part of the British Isles, Normandy, and Iceland. The death of the Archbishop of



- A.D.    Hamburg, as commencing the history of Scandinavian Christianity, marks the origin of Scandinavian commerce and civilisation, which progressed steadily for more than  
 1238.    four centuries, not beginning to decline until Denmark was divided. Scandinavian commerce received a considerable accession during the American war of Independence, and still more during the French Revolution, when the commerce of Holland was almost annihilated. While compelled  
 1798 to 1807. to combine against England, and join the Continental system of Napoleon, Danish commerce rapidly diminished. During these hostilities with England, Denmark lost most of its colonies, and though they were restored at the close of the war they had ceased to be of value.

- FLEMISH TOWNS: Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, &c.—The  
 1047.    origin of these cities as centres of trade may be principally attributed to the Crusades. The Flemish capitalists were then  
 1096 to 1270. enabled to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the necessities of their feudal lords, to acquire independence. The prosperity of their towns rose still more rapidly after the  
 1302.    battle of Courtrai, when Flanders became independent, and  
 1335.    was further promoted by its subsequent alliance with England. About the middle of the fifteenth century the various  
 1477.    provinces of Belgium were united under the Duke of Burgundy, and by the laws of succession soon after became  
 1519.    part of the empire of Austria, and then part of the dominions of Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, when Flanders rose to its greatest height of prosperity. The  
           Inquisition was first established in 1526; but it was not until the succeeding reign of Philip II. of Spain that religious  
           persecution began to drive many of the industrial classes to foreign countries and to destroy the commerce of the country. Flanders continued to sink with the declining fortunes of Spain,  
 1706.    from which it was separated after the battle of Ramillies, becoming again subject to Austria. The commercial prosperity of Flanders reached its lowest ebb when incorporated  
 1795.    with France during the wars of the French Revolution.

By the Congress of Vienna, Belgium and Holland were united, forming the kingdom of the Netherlands, but this impolitic union lasted only a few years, and as independent states their industrial and commercial development has been considerable.

A.D.  
1815.  
1830.

**HANSEATIC LEAGUE :** Hanse towns, Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, &c.—The rise of these towns is coincident with that of the Flemish towns, but it was not until 1164 that the League took a definite form; and when the treaty was signed by Lübeck and Hamburg, the association rose rapidly into power. Its object was the protection of trade. In 1260 it included sixty towns, and eventually seventy-seven. By the fourteenth century it was able to enforce respect for its laws by war. It reached its greatest power in the fifteenth century, and commenced hostilities against Denmark, a proceeding which, with other causes, ultimately led to its dissolution. The four principal foreign factories were at Bruges, London, Novogorod, and Bergen. That of Novogorod was closed when its privileges were abolished in Russia in 1478; that of Bergen, when they were lost in Sweden and Norway in 1536; that of London in 1597. The vast extension of maritime commerce at the close of the fifteenth century, and its acquisition by nations which had no part in the League, or were opposed to its monopoly, were among the chief causes of its decline, which was hastened by the commotions caused by the struggles of the Reformers against the intolerance of the rulers of continental Europe, culminating in the Thirty Years' War in Germany. In 1620 the League included three towns only, and it died out soon after; but the towns still retain some commercial importance.

1050.  
1241.  
1428.  
1618.

**SPAIN.**—In ancient times Spain was to Phœnicia what, at the beginning of the Modern Period, America was to Spain. Its commerce originated with the Phœnician and Carthaginian settlements on its shores, and its commercial history begins at the period when the Carthaginians are first known

B.C.  
500.

- B.C. to have worked its gold and silver mines; rising to its  
 25. highest point when it was a province of the Roman empire,  
 and declining with the fortunes of that empire. It was  
 A.D. erected into an independent Gothic kingdom by Euric, King  
 466. of the Visigoths, the most civilised of all the German  
 tribes, and seems to have continued in a flourishing condi-  
 713. tion until the greater part was conquered by the Saracens,  
 after two years of invasion.
1107. On the union of Leon and Castile with Aragon and  
 Navarre, the Saracens or Moors were gradually expelled,  
 and Spain began to rise again as an independent power,  
 1238. especially when Granada became the sole remaining Moorish  
 1247. kingdom. A navy was soon afterwards established, and  
 1479. Spanish power continued to increase, until, by the final union  
 1482. of Aragon and Castile, followed shortly afterwards by the  
 conquest of Granada, the monarchy was consolidated, the  
 discovery of America the same year raising it to nearly its  
 highest state of commercial prosperity. By the discoveries  
 in the New World, by conquest and by the laws of succe-  
 sion in Europe, its territory was increased to an enormous  
 extent; but these acquisitions cannot be noticed as mate-  
 rially extending its commercial influence, which was, on  
 the contrary, lessened in the early part of the sixteenth  
 1521 to 1538. century by its rivalry with France for universal dominion.  
 Portugal was annexed in 1580, and for sixty years the  
 fortunes of the two states were identical. The fanatical  
 1586. hostility of Philip II. to religious liberty soon led to war with  
 the Netherlands and England; the commercial fleets of  
 1588. Spain were captured, its navy was destroyed by England,  
 and many of its foreign possessions, with those of Portugal,  
 1606. were taken by the Dutch, who in a few years cut Spain off  
 entirely from the Indian trade, and the independence of  
 Holland was acknowledged in 1609. The final expulsion  
 1611. of the Moors, the most industrial race in Spain, added  
 to the decay of national industry; while religious perse-  
 cution and bad administration accelerated the decline of  
 Spain, and the loss of its most valuable possessions.

Portugal recovered its independence in 1640, and Spain was further depressed by wars with Portugal, France, and England; until, at the close of the "War of Succession" by the peace of Utrecht, a temporary improvement was effected by a better administration of the government. Spain had then lost its outlying Italian provinces, which had been a fruitful source of contention. On the breaking out of the French Revolution, Spain became the theatre of war, and was for a few years annexed to France. Immediately after the recovery of its independence, its colonies in Mexico and South America revolted, and became independent. From this lowest state of depression it has during recent years shown a few slight symptoms of recovery.

**PORTUGAL.**—Portugal was erected into an independent kingdom in 1139, though its partial separation from Spain occurred earlier. For many years the Portuguese were at war with the Moors, from whom Lisbon was taken in 1147, and the development of the country dates from the expulsion of that race. At the close of the fourteenth century considerable intercourse was held with the Moors in Africa, which was invaded under John I. In the fourteenth century their career of maritime discovery was initiated by Don Henry. Madeira was first discovered, and successively Cape Bojador was doubled, the Azores discovered, Cape Blanco passed, and lastly Guinea, when the spirit of discovery declined for a short time. The Cape of Good Hope was reached in 1487, and Spain began now to rival Portugal in extending its dominion by exploration. Then occurred the famous voyage of Columbus, under the auspices of Spain, resulting in the discovery of America; and a line of demarcation was drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores, as the limit of the Portuguese claims of discovery on the east, and Spanish on the west. As this line passed through Brazil, that country became a possession of Portugal; but in the meanwhile, the celebrated voyage of Vasco de Gama was undertaken by Portugal round

A.D. 1498. the Cape of Good Hope, when India was first reached by sea. By A.D. 1520 a large part of the Eastern seas and America had been explored, many colonies established, and Portugal had the lead in Eastern commerce, which was totally diverted from its ancient overland course to the Mediterranean. The commercial prosperity of Portugal

1580. continued steadily to increase until it was annexed to Spain, when it became involved in the disasters suffered by that

1640. state, and on the recovery of its independence had lost the greater part of that extensive colonial empire to which it owed its almost abnormal good fortune during the sixteenth century. Holland, and in a less degree France and Eng-

1822. land, acquired the commercial position which Portugal and Spain had lost, and though the Dutch were expelled from Brazil in 1655, the general condition of Portugal was not improved. It suffered during the wars of the French Revolution, and afterwards Brazil and all its colonies in South America became independent. In recent years it has shared to some extent in the general commercial activity which has prevailed.

About 1220. **HOLLAND.**—Early in the thirteenth century, municipal charters were granted to several of the principal towns of the Netherlands, which were then divided into many petty sovereignties, but became united under the Dukes of Burgundy, and, as already mentioned in the notice on the Flemish towns, ultimately came under the dominion of Spain. Holland owed its advancement to the industry and enterprise of its population, and not to any marked political event. Its chief city, Amsterdam, originated in the herring-fishery, and from A.D. 1400 extended its trade and dimensions until it became the world's emporium. While

1556 to 1590. under the dominion of Spain, Holland suffered both political oppression and religious persecution, but its commerce received a fresh impetus from its efforts to shake off the Spanish yoke; and when its independence was

1609. acknowledged by Spain, it had acquired many of the Spanish

and Portuguese settlements in the East and in part of America, and had become the first maritime power on the Indian seas. Its commerce continued to extend, rapidly at first, until expelled from Brazil by Portugal, and at the close of the seventeenth century, it was estimated to possess nearly half the total tonnage of European shipping. Its prosperity then began to sink, owing to the growth of the English power and to heavy taxation caused by incessant hostilities. Many of its colonies were captured by England, and shortly afterwards it was at war successively with France, with England, and again with France, being at its lowest state when annexed to France for a short period and compelled to join the Continental system, a measure which for a time annihilated its commerce. Its union with and subsequent severance from Belgium have been already noticed; its commerce is now comparatively flourishing.

A.D.

1655.

1690.

1780 to 1784.

1792 to 1814.

1806 to 1814.

FRANCE.—The Crusades, though they failed in their immediate object, hastened the downfall of the feudal system, and had the effect throughout Europe of awakening and in some instances of promoting commerce. The rise of France followed not very remotely the last Crusade. At the accession of Philip VI. of Valois the French kingdom had become consolidated, the power of the Pope and the Knights Templars had been diminished, and many chartered towns were in existence. Its rise was checked by wars with England, which ended in the expulsion of the English from nearly all their French possessions. By the close of the fifteenth century Burgundy and many of the great fiefs had fallen to the crown, but progress was again impeded by rivalry with Spain and Austria. Under the ministry of Sully, the well-being of France was greatly promoted, and it took part in the maritime discoveries in America, where its first settlement, Quebec, was founded in 1608. Contests with the nobility and religious wars against the Protestants followed to the middle of the seventeenth century, until the appointment of Colbert, under whose ministry

1270.

1328.

1374.

1598 to 1611.

1661.

- A.D. its colonial power was doubled, its naval power trebled, and its commerce was extended to India, where its first factories were established in 1664. The Revocation of the
1685. Edict of Nantes caused an emigration of the Protestant industrial classes, to the injury of France and advantage of other countries, Holland and England especially. A rapid
1723. depression occurred under the maladministration of the Duc de Bourbon, which was stopped by the measures of
1726. Cardinal de Fleury, and from that time the kingdom continued to advance, in spite of political disaffection, until suddenly suspended by the French Revolution. With the
1789. peace following the battle of Waterloo in 1815, its career of real commercial prosperity begins.

- ENGLAND AND DEPENDENCIES.—The commercial history of England dates from the accession of Henry IV., but for the first century the country was frequently distracted by civil war. Peace was established by the union of the Houses
1485. of York and Lancaster, when the feudal power of the great barons had been destroyed. It was not until the accession
1558. of Elizabeth that its commercial prosperity was very marked
1569. —efforts were made to establish relations with the interior
1588. of Asia; explorations were made in America; the naval
1591. power of Spain was destroyed, and India visited. The
1603. Indian trade began in 1600. On the accession of James I., the sovereignty of the British Isles was consolidated, and
1607. soon afterwards America began to be colonised. The
1642. civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament caused a sudden fall, from which it recovered under the Commonwealth, with successes over the Dutch, and increasing maritime and colonial power. With the Revolution of
1653. 1688, the regal power was reduced to its present constitutional dimensions; the Indian trade had then begun to increase, and the American colonies were growing in importance. The beginning of the next century was marked by the invention of the steam-engine, which before its close placed England in the foremost rank of manufacturing

countries. It began to acquire maritime supremacy in 1744 A.D.  
 in a war with France, and soon afterwards its conquests in  
 India commenced by the battle of Plassey, and its supremacy 1757.  
 was established there by 1764. Canada was conquered from  
 the French in 1760, but the States of America showed signs  
 of disaffection, which culminated in their revolt and the 1783.  
 acknowledgment of their independence. England soon re-  
 covered, and during the wars of the French Revolution, by  
 its successful opposition to the ambitious designs of Napo-  
 leon, it acquired the greater part of the most valuable  
 commerce of the world, which she has since retained, though  
 often hard pressed by other nations.

RUSSIA.—During the latter part of the sixteenth century  
 the full independence of Russia was established, and on the  
 accession of the Romanoff dynasty the empire began to be 1613.  
 settled. There was no marked rise in its commerce and  
 civilisation until the accession of Peter the Great, when it 1689.  
 acquired greater influence in the North of Europe and es-  
 tablished, for the first time, a navy on the Baltic; its 1700.  
 dominion extending from the White Sea almost to the Black  
 Sea. It experienced a slight depression on the death of 1725.  
 Peter the Great, but its territory again increased, develop-  
 ment becoming more rapid when it introduced its commerce  
 on the Black Sea and obtained a free passage to the 1774.  
 Mediterranean. The French invasion of 1812 had no  
 sensible effect on its progress. The mere magnitude of  
 territory, extending from the Black Sea and Baltic Sea  
 to the Pacific Ocean, would place it in the first rank of  
 commercial nations. The chief noticeable check to its  
 progress occurred during the recent Crimean war, the effects 1854 to 1856.  
 of which were but temporary.

NORTH AMERICA.—Twelve of the States of North  
 America were settled by 1682. The thirteenth, Georgia, in  
 1733. They had been colonised by various states of Europe,  
 but had become practically English. From the conquest





# PART I.

## ANCIENT COMMERCE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTORY.

**BEFORE** the arts of cultivating the ground and of domesticating animals were acquired, food must have been chiefly the produce of the chase, supplemented by wild fruits and roots, or obtained by fishing. A forest or a cave served the hunter for shelter, and skins of animals for clothing, while feathers and shells gratified his taste for display. His few wants he himself supplied. There was then no common bond to unite men beyond the temporary one of family ties, retained where necessary for mutual defence, after the family had expanded into the clan or tribe.

*The life of the hunter* is one of continual struggle. Confined to the area within which his game is to be found, he looks upon his fellows as additional consumers of food to be gained only by toilsome labour. The policy of savage tribes who subsist on the produce of hunting has always been to wage war to the death in order to lessen the number of consumers, and thereby secure a more plentiful supply of food. It was a great upward stride when such tribes undertook the rearing of cattle. Sustenance for these animals was found in the plains, and varied with the seasons, or with the supply of

water. Shepherds and herdsmen, moving from place to place in quest of grass, could not, however, form large communities. Tents easily pitched and easily struck were their habitations, and in these we find the first approach to domestic arrangements. Milk and cheese were the regular food. The amenities of family life began. Patriarchal government arose; and, where similar conditions remain, still prevails. There was little interdependence, or surplus produce.

*The pastoral life* is one of comparative indolence. With food and clothing easily procured, there is no strong motive for exertion. The flocks and herds are kept within due bounds, alike by the limits of available pastures, and by the slaughter rendered necessary to meet the demands of human consumption. Tillage was a later development of industry and intelligence. Long experience would be required to foster the growth of fruits, or to utilise the powers of production latent in the soil. While tribes wandered about in search of pasture or food, all property was necessarily portable; but when the husbandman began to labour in the fields, the institution of property must have been generally recognised, and man must have felt the right of possession not only in the produce of his labour, but also in the land. Had the harvests been liable to be carried off by others, his labours would have ceased, and the land have lapsed into unproductiveness.

With agriculture, therefore, came fixed habitations; and with the rights of property, the means of protection. The social conditions of husbandry gave birth to communities. Each member of a household contributed to the common stock of food and clothing; but it would soon be observed that particular members had special aptitude for certain kinds of work. Thus would arise the practice of division of labour, one man confining himself to ploughing and digging, another to building, another to tending cattle, while the making of clothes and the preparing of food would

occupy the women. Division of labour necessitated interchange, the produce of every branch of industry being shared by the whole community. Wealth would accumulate in the hands of the thrifty, while those who were deficient in knowledge or skill would want even the necessities of life. Social inequalities thus originated; war and its invariable attendant in olden times, slavery, gave rise to castes and the distinctions of rank.

The first settled form of government was a mixture of the patriarchal and the plutocratic. The chiefs were the oldest or the wealthiest of their tribes. Laws were made imposing restrictions, to which each member of the society submitted, giving up his right of self-guidance, and taking upon himself the responsibilities of social duty.

Material progress was now more rapid. The art of working in metals was acquired. Rude tools and implements of wood, flint, and bone were superseded, after the discovery of the art of amalgamating copper and tin, by others made of bronze. The grand impetus to production, however, was given by the employment of iron, which became and has remained one of the mightiest aids to human industry. The farmer, builder, and clothier, furnished with improved implements, found the productiveness of their labour greatly increased, while the primitive miner, the smelter, and the manufacturer became the pioneers of a new productive power, scarcely second to that of husbandry.

Important to human prosperity as barter must have been, in practice it was troublesome, and rendered production intermittent, while perishable or bulky commodities could not always find customers. The introduction, in the form of bullion and for the purpose of exchange, of the precious metals, which had before been only prized for ornaments, multiplied handicrafts and tended to make trade permanent instead of fluctuating. Gold and silver are scarce metals; they are of small bulk in proportion to their value, they are comparatively indestructible, and the annual increment

from the mines has under ordinary circumstances little perceptible effect upon the previous stores. This unique combination of properties adapts the precious metals so admirably for a medium of exchange, that they were thus employed in very early times, while their use has become universal and has never been abandoned. At first payments in gold and silver were made by weight. The transition to the custom of stamping as a guarantee of weight and fineness, was an easy and natural step, although not taken until a much later period. Such stamped pieces of precious metals, or money, are called coins, and the value of commodities, measured in money, is called price.

Besides interchange amongst its own members, a civilised community seeks communication with other communities. A union of interests would lead to an acknowledgment of common principles of rectitude and social administration.

Luxuries introduced by exchange fostered a desire for their continuance and increase, and by stimulating the search for new sources of gratification, encouraged a love of enterprise. The first traders were adventurous travellers. Their commodities were necessarily portable and precious. Their exploits inspired others, who had become wealthy in the practice of peaceful arts, to seek improvement and social intercourse abroad, and chieftains carried with them, or sent by their sons or trusted messengers, propitiatory presents, an Oriental custom even to this day. Explorations extended geographical knowledge, which stimulated the love of gain and of power; the former showing itself in national intercourse, the latter in the dominion of the most enterprising races. One other agency—that of emigration—at first sight, apparently, detrimental to well-being, inasmuch as it deprives a nation of industrial power, has enlarged the bounds of commerce. Mutations of climate, convulsions of nature, religious fanaticism, or war, have at times caused scarcity and danger. An exodus has ensued, new societies have arisen imbued with old traditions, and maintaining

an intercourse with the mother-country. The colonies of Phœnicia and of Greece exemplify such a development.\*

\* "An ancient kingdom in the north, either in Friesland or Scandinavia, was once visited by a famine. The people assembled, and the majority decreed that every tenth man with his family should quit the country. Lots were cast, and those on whom they fell departed from their native seats amid the lamentations of their friends and kinsmen; the mothers in deep dismay leading out their helpless infants. In three bands, under three leaders, came forth six thousand hardy gigantic men, with their wives, children, and most valuable effects. They swore never to forsake each other, and they prayed to God to grant them a land like that of their forefathers, where they might graze their cattle without fear or molestation. God brought them to a vale in the Alps," &c.—*A tradition of one of the Alpine Valleys, narrated by Zschokke.*

## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL CONSIDERATION OF COMMERCE.

COMMERCE, properly so called (*commutatio mercium*), relates to the interchange of property between individuals or nations. Its history presents various aspects. I. The connection of commerce with the social condition of mankind. II. The modes of commerce practised between nations. III. The constituents of commerce. IV. The chronological development of commerce.

I. *Its connection with Social Conditions.*—The savage state was essentially aggressive and non-commercial. When every man ministered to his own wants—and there may be parts of the earth where he thus still ministers—he could enjoy little or no social intercourse. The only approach to exchange known to barbarous tribes even now is conducted by superior races, who barter comparatively worthless trinkets, or ardent spirits and gunpowder, for furs and other valuable natural products. In the pastoral condition again, the elements of society were non-progressive, and there was no real trade, although there might have been occasionally a trifling barter. In agricultural life the varying surplus of different regions supplied the respective deficiency of each, and stimulated the industry of all. Nevertheless, the range of commerce could not have been great while slaves were the agricultural labourers and the chief artisans, slave-owners the only men of property, and slave-traders the principal merchants. Eventually, the enlargement of trade required the time and energies of a special class of men, who travelled from place to place, observing where commodities were to be spared and where they were wanted,

and who negotiated for the transference. Such men were called merchants, and formed the distinctive feature of commercial life. The result of their labour has been to link distant countries together and to promote international progress; to equalise the blessings provided by nature; to diffuse widely the necessities and comforts of life, at the least expenditure of human toil or suffering. Successful commercial transactions required special powers of foresight and combination, for the merchant had not only to supply the actual wants of a locality, but also to anticipate its probable wants, and thus aid in removing that scarcity to which a large amount of vice, crime, and misery has always been traced.

II. *Modes of Commerce.*—I. *Land Traffic.*—In its infancy trade was carried on overland. Man did not at first trust to the unknown waters even of rivers, but confined himself to narrow routes between the various states. The dangers which beset a solitary journey led to the practice of travelling, at fixed seasons and in companies, whereby mutual protection, as well as the enjoyment of social intercourse, was obtained. The earliest caravan trade of which any records are extant had its centre in Egypt, the geographical position of that country making it a convenient meeting-place for both Occidental and Oriental merchants. The fertile valley of the Nile was the cradle of the social polity, the arts, and the sciences of Phœnicia and of Europe. Of even more remote origin, possibly, was the caravan trade of Bactria, now Bokhara, the country beyond the mountainous border of North-west India, where, as to an emporium, products of the unknown eastern regions of Asia were brought, to be exchanged for the merchandise of the West. Thus the district over which overland traffic extended coincided with the geographical range of the camel—an animal whose association with the caravan trade from the earliest times has entitled it to the name of the “ship of the desert.” The route of a caravan westward, laden with silks and



precious stones, ivory, pearls, and spices, was by way of Herat in Afghanistan, and Ecbatana in Persia. Besides these cities, the halting-places were valleys and plains fertilised by water, and described by the refreshed and grateful travellers of old as paradises upon earth. In India caravans seem not to have been common, the merchant usually travelling alone; and here the camel was represented by the elephant.

2. *River Traffic.*—In time traders acquired sufficient confidence to entrust themselves and their wares to the easier transit of rivers, wherever facilities for such means of communication existed. The Nile must have been thus utilised at a very early period. Its course downwards to the sea was well known; and Meröe, on the confines of Egypt and Ethiopia, one of the most renowned cities of the ancient world, owed its importance to its position on the Nile. The Suez Canal, one of the greatest engineering works of our own day, restores, and partly follows, the line of an older canal, the date of the construction of which cannot now be fixed, but which connected the river with the head of the Red Sea. The river commerce of the Tigris and Euphrates, furnishing an easy mode of reaching India, was of still greater importance than that of the Nile. The Indus and Ganges, as well as the grand river system of China, were in all probability similarly employed, but our information relative to them is scanty. Better known to us, from the Roman and Greek historians, is the use made, at a later period, of the Rhone, the Rhine, the Po, the Danube, the Don, and the Volga. River commerce, thus far, was combined with that carried on by means of the caravans. It received a great impetus when men learnt to venture along the coast, and ultimately upon the bosom of the sea. Important, however, as river trade was in this first period of commercial history, it bears no comparison with that of times like our own.

3. *Maritime Coasting Trade.*—Maritime commerce was

the natural sequence to that along the courses of rivers. Where estuaries and harbours on the sea-coast presented advantages for ships, cities arose, and the conveyance of goods was carried on partly by water and partly by land. This division of traffic led to a corresponding distinction between the persons who were thus engaged. The interchange of commodities between distant nations was conducted by several sets of hands. The original producers, in caravans, or as individual dealers, conveyed their wares overland to the river depot or seaport, where they exchanged them for other commodities brought by the traders of the maritime nations, who, as agents or factors, consigned their freights again, at the end of the voyage, for inland distribution. Rendered bolder by increase of knowledge, merchants discovered that they could sail upon the Persian Gulf with as much safety as upon the Tigris and Euphrates, and that, by taking advantage of the monsoons, they could reach the coast of India without losing sight of the land. Voyages foreshadowing ocean commerce soon became organised into a system of departures and returns, according to seasons, as perfect as that regulating the caravans. At a later date the Mediterranean was the chief seat of the carrying trade. Nevertheless, ocean commerce, as we understand it, was unknown and impossible to the ancients. The Mediterranean was to them literally the middle of the earth. The sea beyond was filled by their imagination with vague and impassable terrors. According to one geographer, Ptolemy, our earth was encompassed by ice at about  $63^{\circ}$  N. lat. and by fire at the Equinoctial. The commercial zone lay between the Tropic of Cancer and  $40^{\circ}$  N. lat., but was afterwards extended to  $45^{\circ}$  N. and  $10^{\circ}$  S. lat.

III. *Constituents of Commerce.*—Under this division an interesting comparison is made of the number, quantity, nature, perfection, and climatal or geographical conditions of production of the commodities upon which has been based the commercial intercourse of individuals and com-

munities in various ages, and in different parts of the world ; from the barest necessities of primitive life to the manifold requirements of the most refined civilisation. Each age and country had its characteristic resources, and men learnt to supply their wants and gratify their tastes with other productions than those they locally inherited. Luxuries enjoyed at first only by the wealthy, became in time easy to procure, and ranked as necessities or semi-necessaries of life. The magnitude of the subject may be perceived by a single illustration. In recent times we have added to domestic comforts, amongst other things, tea, coffee, sugar, potatoes, spirits, beer, tobacco, cotton, butter, and fish-oils—commodities of which the polished Greeks and luxurious Romans scarcely knew the existence.

IV. *Chronological Development of Commerce.*—The divisions of commercial history in the order of time, collateral with the rise, culmination, and decline of the principal political states, may thus be summarised:—1. Ancient Commerce, from the earliest times to A.D. 476 (Fall of Western Roman Empire). 2. Commerce of the Middle Ages, from A.D. 476 to A.D. 1500 (Discovery of America and the Sea route to India). 3. Modern Commerce, from A.D. 1500 to the French Revolution, A.D. 1789. 4. Recent Commerce, from 1789 to 1872.

*First Period: Ancient Commerce.*—Barter is as old as the beginning of history. The records of the Oriental empires date from a hoar antiquity ; and the first traditional information received of China, India, Persia, Assyria, Phœnicia, and the African states of Ethiopia and Egypt, is of nations pursuing an established or extensive commerce, and enjoying the refinements of a high degree of wealth and civilisation. The Phœnicians were typically the nation of traders. Through their annals we obtain the clearest glimpses, if not the only authentic accounts, of the ancient world, whose narrow horizon was continually being widened by their commercial enterprise. Through the Mediterranean

commerce we get a partial insight into Etruscan manners and customs, and view also the infancy of the system of colonisation. The Greek-Carthaginian period extended from B.C. 450 to the fall of Rome. The Romans themselves soon began to condemn agriculture, and to neglect industrial and commercial pursuits; their name is consequently not used to designate any epoch in economic history.

*Second Period: Commerce of the Middle Ages, A.D. 476—1500.*—This commercial period, from the fall of the Western Roman Empire to the discovery of America by Columbus, and of the sea route to India by Vasco de Gama, coincides with the Middle Ages of general history. Its duration was about a thousand years. It was an age of great events. It saw the birth, growth, and collapse of Arab power, the Crusades, the rise of the Italian municipalities, and of the Hanseatic League.

*Third Period: Modern Commerce, A.D. 1500—1789.*—Roughly dividing this period, from the discovery of America to the French Revolution, into three successive centuries, the first century may be designated the *Age of Discovery and Colonisation*, the second the *Age of Dutch Commercial Supremacy*, and the third the *Age of English Commercial Supremacy*.

*Fourth Period: Recent and Existing Commerce, A.D. 1789—1872.*—This last commercial period, from the French Revolution to the present time, or, Commerce of the nineteenth century, may be separated into a well-defined tripartite arrangement, marked by alternations of commercial policy. 1. From 1789 to 1815, comprising the years of the French Revolution, and of the First Empire, a period commercially distinguished by the Continental System, established by Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, and by the retaliatory blockade of Europe by England. 2. From the peace of 1815 to 1846—the age of protected industries, and of the British Corn Laws; during which period every European state was inspired with the spirit of resistance to

the preponderating productive power and commercial pre-eminence of the United Kingdom; a spirit embodied by the Zollverein, or Confederated Customs Union of Germany.

3. The period from 1846 to the present day, signalised by the abolition of the British Corn and Navigation Laws, by the removal from our Statute Book of all protective restrictions upon manufactures and commerce, by the inauguration of free-trade both as a principle and a practice, by the unexampled accumulation of British wealth, and by the gradual adoption in other countries of free-trade principles.

## CHAPTER III.

### PHŒNICIA.

#### *PART I.—PRIMITIVE LAND TRADE.*

PHŒNICIA, in whose annals the path of ancient commerce first becomes distinct, took part in overland, river, and maritime trade. Its position in the Levant gave it the command of the Mediterranean. This sea was the scene of its earliest enterprises, and from its shores were obtained those commodities which it interchanged with the great commercial states of Asia. Traffic was an instinct with its adventurous people, and took its rise in pre-historic days. For many generations they sought the profits of commerce from every state belonging to the three continents washed by the Great Sea. The Phœnicians were already a nation before the Israelites entered the Promised Land. In the early Hebrew history Phœnicia was included in the general designation of Canaan. From its proximity to the Jewish nation, the history of the two states became closely connected, and a graphic account of Phœnician prosperity is to be found in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel.

Phœnicia was not properly speaking a kingdom, but a confederation of independent cities, of which Sidon ("Great Zidon") was probably the metropolis, until Tyre, the "eldest daughter of Sidon," situated twenty miles south of that city, outgrew her parent in importance. The island of Arvad, known also as Aradus, opposite which stood Antaradus, Zaraphath, or Sarepta (noted for its manufactures), Byblus, and Arka, were amongst the minor civic states. Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus, in conjunction, founded Tripolis,

or the triple city. Later, Berytus became an important place, and is still an Oriental emporium under the modern name of Beyrout. These cities were bound together by a community of interests, and the common worship of Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules,\* called Baal in the Scriptures, strengthened political union. The Phœnicians were engaged in manufactures and trade, and though they defended themselves with skill and courage when attacked, were a peaceful people. Their colonies were established, not for the sake of extended dominion, but to serve as centres of commerce.

Nebuchadnezzar besieged Sidon, and laid it in ruins, but was unable to subdue Tyre. New Tyre superseded Old Tyre in wealth and importance, but it was compelled to submit to Alexander the Great, after a seven months' siege. The villages occupying the sites of the great cities of Sidon and Tyre, under the modern names of Saïde and Sur or Tsur, are now petty fishing hamlets. Small villages also indicate the position of most of the other cities.

Phœnicia, a prey in turn to Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Egyptian greed, still retained in its position and natural resources a vitality which made it an important Roman province. Tyre was one of the last places held by the Christians against the Saracens, and only from this epoch dates its final and utter ruin. The site of the ancient city is now mostly covered by the sea.

Although the Phœnician trade was essentially marine, yet their inland trade was also extensive and valuable. With their neighbours, the Jews, their relations during the reigns of David and Solomon were very intimate. Hiram supplied David with cedars, and sent skilful metal-workers to Jerusalem to aid in building the king's palace, and in the erection of Solomon's Temple Jewish hewers of wood joined with those of Sidon in felling the timber of Lebanon. The resources of the two contiguous states differed greatly. Phœnicia produced scarcely any grain, but fruits, timber,

\* *Tyrian Hercules.* Appendix A.

and metals were abundant. Palestine was in great part a fertile river-plain, producing fine wheat, barley, millet, wine, and oil, as well as balm, honey, gums, flax, byssus or cotton, and wool, which the Tyrian princes were ready to receive in exchange for timber, gold, dyed cloths, metal-work of bronze and tin, glass, pottery, jewellery, and carved ivory, the produce of their foreign traffic, or of their home industry.

The Jews carried on an extensive inland traffic, as factors or middlemen for the Phœnicians. The conquests of David extended the confines of the Hebrew kingdom to the Syrian desert, and southwards over the land of Edom to the Red Sea, on the shores of which Solomon built the ports of Elath and Ezion-geber. The latter monarch also built Tadmor in the wilderness, called by the Greeks Palmyra, or the City of Palm-trees, as a halting-place for the caravans between Syria and Mesopotamia. The name of this city shows that it owed its foundation to the existence of an oasis. Its ruins still attest its ancient grandeur. Baalbek, or Baalath, to the west of Anti-Libanus, was enlarged and fortified by the wise merchant-monarch. The Greeks gave it the name of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun. Its temples, now in ruins, impress travellers with wonder both on account of the massive blocks of stones of which they are built, seemingly beyond human power to move, and of the symbolical figures sculptured upon them. Solomon in founding these ports and cities was not without a purpose. His subjects had as strong a predilection for inland as the Phœnicians had for maritime traffic, and each nation left to the other its special division of labour. Solomon's interest in Baalbek and Palmyra proves that the direct road between Phœnicia and Babylon was in the hands of the Jews. This was the most important caravan route in existence, and it ran entirely through the desert. The Hebrew ports on the Red Sea were open to the Phœnicians, who brought thither the products of India and Arabia, the Jews conveying them overland to Phœnicia.



The overland trade with Egypt was conducted in much the same way. The Jewish people profited as keenly by the idiosyncrasies of the Egyptians as by those of the Phœnicians. The latter were subjected to so many restrictions in their intercourse with Egypt, that they availed themselves to a great extent of the services of the Hebrews in the conveyance of the flax, fine linen, and embroidery, for which the land of the Nile was celebrated. Solomon also traded with Egypt on his own account, for we read of his importing horses and chariots, which he sold again to the neighbouring princes. Wine and oil, with which Palestine abounded, were not produced in Egypt. The inundations of the Nile, though they deposit a soil unequalled for promoting the growth of grain and gourds, are unfavourable to both the vine and the olive. These Syrian productions were therefore the chief means of repayment at Solomon's command. To these were doubtless added the gems, spices, and balsams brought from India and Arabia, and through the ports of the Red Sea. In the direct trade of the Phœnicians with Egypt, which was confined at first to a part of the city of Thebes, but afterwards extended to a part of Memphis also, the wine of the district of Chalybonitis, around the modern city of Aleppo, was the staple of exchange, together with copper, of which the Egyptians made extensive use in their metal-work.

The great increase of Jewish wealth is narrated in Scripture history. The zenith of prosperity was reached in the reign of the merchant-king, who "made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones; and cedars made he to be as sycamore-trees that are in the vale, for abundance;" "and Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea-shore for multitude, eating and drinking and making merry." That the cities of Phœnicia were no less wealthy is testified by sacred and profane historians, who refer to Tyre and Sidon as types of wealth.

From the Syrians and Cappadocians the Phœnicians

obtained various products, which they bartered at a great profit for the commodities of other countries. The wine of Chalybonitis was of such repute as to banish almost all other kinds from the tables of royalty. Its transport overland was difficult, and added to its costliness. A few jars of it could be exchanged in Egypt for as many loads of corn. From Syria was obtained the fine wool which the Phœnicians wove into choice fabrics and dyed with their famous purple. The celebrated snow-white Nicean horses, regarded in Persia as alone worthy to draw the chariot of majesty, were bred in Cappadocia. Other horses were reared, but none approached this breed in beauty. Mules also were obtained from the same parts, and Circassia and Georgia contributed slaves. As many as ten thousand slaves were occasionally sold in the market of Delos in a day. Engaged in every form of commercial enterprise, the Phœnicians trafficked in the constituents alike of maritime and of inland trade. The commodities conveyed by caravan consisted of raw materials as well as of industrial products. The cotton, linen, and woollen fabrics were so skilfully dyed that they presented the effect of shot silk. Sidon and Sarepta were noted for the manufacture of glass, which is supposed to have been first made by accident. The discovery was for a long time put to no greater use than that of making beads and trinkets, to be used as cheap objects of barter. In like manner, ornaments, chains of amber and gold, carved ivory, and other artistic work, engaged the skill of the Phœnicians, and appear to have found especial favour in the eyes of the Hebrew women. Some authors trace to this people the first use of coined money. It is probable that the arts of computation and of alphabetic writing spread from Phœnicia to Greece, and thence through the Western world.\* How Phœnicia learnt these arts is not clear. The fable of Cadmus satisfied ancient inquirers, but modern investigators

\* *Origin of Written Language.* Appendix B.

consider the alphabet of the ancient Phœnicians and Hebrews to have been a simplified development of the hieroglyphic system of Egypt. Whether the adaptation was the work of the practical skill of the Phœnicians or of the Hebrews is disputed. The fact is certain that these characters form the foundation of all the historical alphabets of the world—Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Roman, Arabic, Ethiopian, Armenian, and Slavonian.

## *PART II.—MARITIME OR COASTING TRADE.*

TRANSPORT by sea, in lessening the labour, time, and cost of procuring commodities from distant countries, gave new life to commerce, and indefinitely widened its scope. The Phœnicians were the earliest sailors on record. Homer refers to their seafaring habits, and their daring as traders and pirates, nearly a thousand years before the Christian era. They navigated the Arabian and Indian seas, and brought to the ports of the Persian Gulf the products of Ceylon and Malabar, of the Indus and the Ganges, Bactria and China, thus linking the elephant traffic of Hindostan with the caravan commerce through Babylon and Palmyra, and with the Arab caravans from Gerrha, and thence with the Occidental trade of the Mediterranean. Their vessels in the Red Sea coasted Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, exchanging the produce of both these countries at Elath and Ezion-geber in return for the commodities brought overland through Edom. The rich countries just referred to were the ancient Ophir, whence the Jews obtained gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. The persistence of the Phœnicians extorted from the rulers of Egypt limited rights to the navigation of the Nile, and to those merchants a part of Memphis was assigned for warehouses and offices. According to Herodotus, they were the first mariners who rounded the Cape of Good Hope, having started from the Red Sea, at the instance of Pharaoh Necho,

about 600 B.C., and in three years circumnavigated Africa. That the Phœnicians first passed the Pillars of Hercules is undisputed. Before Saul, the first king of Israel, had begun to reign, they had already ventured out into the Atlantic; and the tin mines of Britain and the amber lands of the Baltic had possibly been visited by them. Long before this they had begun to frequent, and even to settle upon the isles of the Levant and the Ægean. Cyprus in particular (the ancient Chittim) could be seen from their shores, and to reach it was one of their earliest efforts. Judging from the distribution of the geographical names along the coast-line, the voyage to Carthage seems, in the first instance at least, to have been not along the northern coast of Africa, but by Crete, the southern extremities of Greece, and Italy, and Sicily.

Keeping near the shore, and guided at night by the stars, they gradually extended the length of their voyages. In the course of time they improved their skill in navigation and ship-building. The acquisition of wealth, whether by just or unjust means, appears to have been the sole object of their traffic. The Phœnicians were ever ready to purchase any number of captives taken in war, to sell, according to universal custom, as slaves, and they would, it is said, when the chance offered, kidnap Greek and Hebrew children. The Greeks, amongst whom the Phœnicians at the first had settlements, suffered from their piratical habits, and the less advanced borders of the Mediterranean still more so. The Greek ports and the isles of the Ægean were for a time closed against the Phœnicians, and, in alliance with the Etruscans, the Greeks expelled them from Southern Italy (*Magna Græcia*); but the desire for Oriental luxuries lessened the jealousies of trade, and Greece could not permanently deny herself Phœnician wares. In Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles, the Phœnicians planted colonies, and successfully competed with the Etruscans. Colonies were gradually formed along the Mediterranean coasts. In Asia Minor

and the Euxine, as well as Africa and the islands, the natives were taught husbandry, and thus they learned to produce commodities valuable to Phœnician commerce. Carthage and Adrumetum (apparently the Semitic word Hadramaut, a not uncommon geographical term in Western Asia), Great and Little Leptis, with several hundred smaller stations, arose in Africa. Many of the great commercial centres on the shores of the Mediterranean grew, as their names indicate, out of these colonies, and trade was zealously pursued before Greece or Rome had risen to importance.

Spain was literally a mine of wealth ; for gold, lead, and iron abounded, and silver was so plentiful that the merchants are said by Aristotle to have ballasted their ships with it, and, when overladen, to have cut off the masses of lead which served as anchors, and substituted silver. The natives gladly accepted Tyrian ornaments and glass trinkets for that which they possessed in such great abundance, and the Phœnicians disposed of this beautiful metal in the East, where it was held in higher estimation than gold. When the supply thus procured failed, the Phœnicians became the taskmasters of the natives, whom they enslaved and compelled to work in the silver mines.

Spain also possessed rich resources in animal and vegetable produce. Fine wool, wax, and salt fish, corn, wine, oil, and luscious fruits were only second in value to the precious metals. A Phœnician origin can be assigned to nearly two hundred Spanish localities. Cadiz, "on the most remote point of the world," is to this day an important commercial city. Hispalis (*Seville*), Carteia (*Cartaijo*), near Gibraltar, and Malaka (*Malaga*), are other examples. The Tarshish of Scripture was probably South Spain (*Tartessus*). From Spain the Phœnicians set out for still more distant enterprises. It appears hardly possible that their vessels could have weathered the rough waters of the Bay of Biscay, yet it is certain that they obtained tin and lead from the peninsula of Cornwall, and amber from the

shores of the Baltic. They also visited, sooner or later, the Azores and the Madeira Isles. The secret of Phœnician commerce beyond the Pillars of Hercules was jealously guarded by the merchants, who retained it for many ages as a close monopoly.

Thus the commerce of the known world came into their possession. Maritime trade, for many generations, was solely and indisputably their own. They were not only merchants on their own account, but the universal carriers for other nations. Wealth poured into their cities in profusion. Colonies were a necessity with such an enterprising people, in order that when ships arrived cargoes might be in readiness at widely distant points, and interchange be made without delay. As the necessities and comforts of life accumulated, the population also increased, and colonies were often the outpouring of numbers too cramped in the small territory of the mother-country. Political discontent, too, was an incentive to emigration, and to this cause the rise of Carthage, Tyre's great daughter-colony, is said to have been due. Phœnician colonies continued to be established for a period of between five hundred and six hundred years, from 1100 B.C. to 550 B.C.

Although the parent state exercised little coercive authority over its colonies, yet commerce and religion formed a bond of union. The temples and deities of Phœnicia were everywhere revered, and offerings from all quarters were transmitted to the mother-country.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA.

ASSYRIA and Babylonia, in their widest geographical sense, were nearly convertible terms, but, as empires, the first was most ancient. It could be by no accident that civilisation traced its earliest manifestations to the river plains of the world. Thus the Tigris and Euphrates claim with the Nile, the Indus, the Ganges, and the rivers of China to be the parents of communities whose origin is lost in the past. The country watered by the Assyrian streams bore a strong resemblance to Egypt, and, like it, was saved from being an utterly arid sandy track by periodical inundations. From the Mediterranean inland much of the desert expanse was broken only by oases; the vegetation being liliaceous bulbs, nodes, succulent and herbaceous plants, preserving moisture and maintaining life in the driest soil,—an ephemeral verdure, disappearing in the summer heats, but waking to activity with the rains. Whether Assyria was peopled by colonies from Egypt or the converse, or the similar surroundings of the two races gave rise to analogous industries and arts, the early history is too obscure to detail, but the husbandry, building, weaving, dyeing, and traffic of the one were certainly the reproduction of the other. The arrow-headed or cuneiform\* inscriptions and colossal figures in recent years excavated on the site of Nineveh, and now enriching the British Museum, are the counterparts of the hieroglyphics and sculptures of Egypt; and as the chronology of both countries is gradually being deciphered from

\* Cuneiform, or wedge-shaped; Lat. *cuneus*, wedge.

two lost languages, extant records may not always be left to be interpreted by the imagination. Nineveh or Ninus, named from its supposed founder, one of the oldest and largest cities in the world, the capital of a great and civilised monarchy, was the prototype of Babylon, and the history of the first may be correctly read in the series of incidents befalling the second. The greatness of both capitals was built upon trade, their sites making them successively the emporium of the East and the West; and their common fate was to be conquered. Trade brought to Nineveh prosperity, respect, and power; the regions around were subdued, even the Babylonians succumbed. Ultimately the Babylonians rose against their masters and blotted them out from existence. Such a subversion implies the previous transfer of power from the dominant to the subject people. Primitive industrial virtues were a necessity while Nineveh was poor and rising, but appear to have fled when opulence was attained. Sensuality enfeebled the citizens until all fear of their martial prowess was dissipated, and their riches only excited the cupidity of a hardier race. While Nineveh was wasting its strength, Babylon was gaining vigour in subjection, and the desire for freedom, blended with disdain for their enervated rulers, incited the citizens to revolt. Sennacherib had already, B.C. 714, weakened the empire by his expedition against Egypt and the Hebrews, and the Medes and the Babylonians in alliance razed Nineveh to the ground B.C. 606, and apportioned the empire.

Babylon, founded by the Nimrod of Scripture, the Belus of profane history, covered a great space on both sides of the Euphrates. The district of Babylonia, properly so called, comprised the alluvial river plain eastward of Syria. The Euphrates and Tigris unite before they flow into the Persian Gulf, and form the modern Shat-el-Arab. Above their confluence they enclose the vast mud flat of Babylonia, of which, strictly speaking, they form the boundaries. Higher up, the streams converge again to



within a few miles of each other, at which point the Median Wall was erected, both as a fortification and defence against the approach of a hostile army and a line of demarcation between Babylonia and Mesopotamia.

Babylonia was an almost rainless region ; yet under a perfect system of irrigation it attained marvellous fertility. It was nearly destitute of wood, and entirely so of building-stone. Whole pages of ancient historians are filled with descriptions of the magnificence and dimensions of the capital, and of the opulence of its inhabitants. Huge walls, pierced with a hundred gates of brass, surrounded the city, through which the Euphrates rolled between embankments of masonry. The palace of the great king, with its terraces or gardens, was accounted one of the wonders of the ancient world. The only towns we know to have existed on these plains besides Babylon were Forsath, now Bassora, and Borsippa, neither of much extent ; indeed, the latter seems to have been rather a district of the capital than a neighbouring town.

The Babylonian plain was subject to vernal floods, which by a network of canals and reservoirs were rendered serviceable to the country which they would otherwise have devastated. Remains of these watercourses are still to be seen. Bricks burnt and unburnt, and cemented with bitumen, the "slime" of Scripture—of which springs are still in activity—formed the building material of Babylon. Travellers are amazed at the mounds of brick which even now line the rivers for many miles, though the ruins have formed a quarry whence were taken the materials used in the building of the large towns of Ctesiphon, Seleucia, Kufa, and Almadain. It has been computed that more bricks were used in the walls and towers of Babylon than in the Great Wall of China, which is twelve hundred miles long.

Babylon owed its prosperity less to the surrounding fertility than to its excellent position as a caravanserai ; yet the

soil yielded abundant crops of dates and grain. Corn is said to have been mown twice, and then eaten down by cattle before it was allowed to come into ear, in order to check its tendency to exuberance of leaf, and even then the return was more than two hundredfold. These regions claim to be the centre from which corn spread, and where it was first used for food. The varieties of the palm furnished bread, wine, vinegar, sago, dates, and date honey, an esculent something like the cabbage, food for cattle, fuel, and ropes.

The city was placed in the highway of the primitive land-trade east and west, and on its waters were made the first known attempts at river-traffic. Food-produce in abundance, at scarcely any cost of labour, was ready for traders in exchange for Chinese silks, Indian gems and spices, Bactrian gold and gold-dust, and Western silver and wine. At home, textile manufactures of wool, linen, and cotton were carried to great perfection. *Sindones*, as some remarkably fine and beautifully dyed cotton fabrics were called, were so costly as to be restricted to royal use. Brilliant tapestries, upon which the zoology of India was embroidered, were coveted by princes for the choicest hangings of their palaces and harems, and from these the West received its first notions of Indian natural history. Carpets and coverlets from Babylonian looms were treasures more precious than gold. Borsippa is mentioned as famous for the finest linen and cotton fabrics, but manufactures generally were carried on within the precincts of the capital. The dye-stuffs were the Tyrian purple, obtained from Phoenicia, Indian lac, the precursor of cochineal, and some other tropical products. The production of articles of luxury of great value also employed the Babylonians. Their parching climate rendered the use of cooling perfumed waters universal. They were expert in the art of engraving stones for seals, and they cut the gems of India for signet rings and jewellery. The curious fashion prevailed of carrying a walking-stick of fine wood, elaborately

carved with devices of fruit or flowers, and serving, instead of costly jewels, to indicate rank and consequence.

The first boats used for navigating the Tigris and Euphrates were rude coracles of light wood covered with skins. Such vessels are sculptured on the Assyrian monuments, and under the name of *keleks* continue to be used on both rivers for the transport of goods. The current of the Euphrates was too strong to allow frail rafts to ascend against the stream; they were therefore used only in descending the river, were then broken up, and the wood sold, asses being laden with the skins on the return journey. By such means the wine and oil of Armenia, and commodities from the borders of the Mediterranean, reached Thapsacus, a station between Babylon and Aleppo, on the upper course of the Euphrates, where the merchandise was again transferred to caravans and conveyed to the capital, whence it was distributed along various divergent routes. Wind-power was eventually enlisted in the service of trade, the use of sails enabling the traders to enlarge and strengthen their river craft, and to make them less dependent upon the force of currents, so that they were able to navigate the rivers both up and down. Like the Egyptians, they feared the sea, and left its navigation entirely to the daring and skill of the Phœnicians, who founded the ports in the Persian Gulf, Gerrha, half-way upon the Arabian coast, Tylos, and Arados.

At Tylos, one of the Bahrein islands, superior cotton was cultivated, teak oak was felled, and handsome sticks, streaked and spotted like the skins of the tiger and the leopard, were cut; the banks, not even yet exhausted, produced pearls superior in hardness and beauty to those of Ceylon. Muscat, Djulvar, and Ormuz shared in this commerce. Between these cities and India an active maritime commerce sprang up, and the port of Gerrha became the starting-point of a caravan route across the Arabian desert. Through Bactria came Indian produce, cotton, silk, and wool, both raw and manufactured, and large dogs trained for hunting.

Media and Hyrcania supplied timber of various kinds; Scythia, skins; Egypt, flax, cattle, horses, and mules; the enterprising Phoenicians sent from the Jewish ports of Elath and Ezion-geber the valuable commodities procured from the shores of the Red Sea, and their own storehouses contributed the wealth of the Western world.

The district extending lower down the river Tigris, as far as its mouths, bore the name of Chaldea. The Chaldeans were the ruling caste in the state, its astrologers, seers, and soothsayers, and for that age of the world their knowledge had an extensive range. They were acquainted with the motions of the sun, moon, and five planets, the signs of the zodiac, the calculation of eclipses, and the division of the year into twelve months. The sun-dial and the water-clock were used for computing time, and their system of weights and measures was the basis of the Roman standards.

The Golden City, the "glory of the Chaldees' excellency," attained its greatest power during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who extended the Babylonian empire from the Tigris to Egypt, from Armenia to the Arabian desert, and successfully withstood the attacks of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt. Profuse wealth finally led to moral corruption on the part of the rulers, and invited aggression. Cyrus laid siege to Babylon, diverted the course of the Euphrates, and entered the city by the bed of the river during a nocturnal feast, B.C. 538. Thus it sank to the level of the third capital of the Persian kingdom, Susa and Ecbatana ranking higher.

Babylonian commerce declined under the Persians, who put an end to the maritime traffic, fearing lest an inroad upon their dominions should be the consequence of the navigation of the Persian Gulf. Babylon (B.C. 324) opened its gates without opposition to Alexander the Great, who endeavoured to restore its commerce, and to that end improved the navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates. His death in the following year frustrated his intention of making

Babylon the capital of his empire. The decline of this great city was decisive under Seleucus Nicanor, one of Alexander's generals, to whom it fell as part of the Syrian kingdom, of which he had assumed the government, and a rival city, named after the builder, Seleucia, on the banks of the Tigris, completed its eclipse. Babylon was at the commencement of the Christian era almost wholly in ruins.

## CHAPTER V.

### CARTHAGE.

CARTHAGE, the chief offshoot of Tyre, and principal inheritor of the colonial commerce of the mother-city, has had no native historian to recount its glories, and its history has to be sought in the literature of its conquerors and destroyers. Its foundation is ascribed to Elissa or Dido, who, with many Tyrians, fled from the land of her birth (about 813 B.C.), to escape the domestic distractions which overtook Tyre and Sidon, in consequence of the usurpation of Ithobaal, or Ethbaal. Ethbaal was priest of Astarte, and father of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab. He assassinated Pheletus, the last of Hiram's sons, B.C. 898. In opposition to Utica, the Old Town (Hebrew, *atika*, old), founded B.C. 1100, Elissa's settlement was named *Kartchadkha*, or New Town, corrupted by the Romans into *Carthago*, and by the Greeks into *Karchedon*.

Like their ancestors the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians owed nothing at first to conquest. They paid a yearly tribute for the land they settled upon, and sought their wealth in industry and commerce. A skilful, civilised people could not, however, dwell in the midst of nomadic tribes, who were continually at war with each other, without being appealed to for aid, and finally gaining the supreme power. From tributaries they rose to be masters, and in the height of their prosperity they ruled a territory extending from Cyrene to Numidia, fourteen hundred miles in length by eighty in breadth, besides possessing a considerable influence over the interior of the continent. The name Africa, first given to their own colony, grew into use as the common designa-

tion of their own dominions, and afterwards of the whole continent. Besides the north coast of Africa, Carthage possessed nearly all Spain, and the islands between Spain and Italy.

The ruling passion with the Carthaginians, as with the Phœnicians, was love of gain. Possessed of little patriotism, they employed mercenaries in all their wars, and imposed upon the African tribes the yoke of military servitude. They showed judgment and good sense in their domestic affairs, for there is no record of turbulence or civil war till the era of their downfall. The soil was cultivated by negro slaves, and a profitable slave-trade existed with the adjacent countries. Their territories yielded corn and fruits of all kinds, various sorts of provisions, wax, honey, oil, skins, wild spartum (a kind of broom, from which they made ropes and numerous articles), a peculiar extract called Punic colour, and other materials for manufactures. The Carthaginians were celebrated for various industrial products, such as woven fabrics and artistic work in leather and wool. Their tanning was very superior: they manufactured pure white and coloured leathers, of the kind now known as morocco. They also practised the arts of pottery and dyeing, and understood the working of metals. Their skill in handicraft caused the term Punic to become descriptive of exquisite workmanship; and in Rome, Punic couches, lanterns, and wine-presses, were in the highest estimation. *Punic* is derived from *Pœni* or *Phœni*, the Latin name for these people, in reference to their Phœnician descent.

Carthaginian commerce, though very extensive, was in a great measure confined to direct interchange, and managed entirely by merchants. Even after the destruction of Tyre, it did not include the carrying or commission trade of the Phœnicians. The position of the city on what is now the Bay of Tunis, midway between the Levant and the Pillars of Hercules, enabled it to command the

Mediterranean traffic, while various inland caravan routes also brought commodities to its markets.

Colonies, properly so called, Carthage did not possess, for its policy of aggrandisement, which could endure no rival, caused all its settlements to be mere trading stations. The chief of the insular possessions was Sardinia, which was held till a few years after the conclusion of the first Punic war, B.C. 241. Corsica, also a Carthaginian possession, was lost at the same time. After contests which lasted two hundred years, Carthage never secured more than a partial footing in Sicily. The last remaining possessions before the destruction of the state were the Balearic Isles, Malta, and Spain.

Phœnician and Greek vessels covered the eastern Mediterranean, compelling the Carthaginians to settle and trade where they could more successfully compete with their rivals. In the west they met the Greeks of Sicily and Italy, the Greek colony of Marseilles, then Massilia, and the Etruscan pirate merchants, for all of whom the Carthaginians were more than a match. They obtained oil and wine from Sicily; honey, wax, and slaves, from Corsica; fruits and beasts of burden, chiefly mules, from the Balearics; and bitumen from the Lipari Islands. Malta furnished costly tissues for clothing. Elba, remarkable to this day for the fine iron it produces, supplied material for their furnaces. For the commodities thus obtained, the Carthaginians gave the produce of their own industry and commerce, the work of their looms, and especially slaves, precious stones, and gold. As the state increased in wealth, its system of employing mercenaries became further developed, and draughts of labourers were employed in Spain to work the mines more vigorously than during the Phœnician period. When, through the disastrous Persian war, Phœnicia lost her commercial supremacy, Carthage and Greece divided the eastern and western Mediterranean. Sicily, the border island of this division, was long the subject



of contention between the Greeks and Carthaginians, and the scene of many indecisive conflicts.

Their maritime commerce outside the Mediterranean extended both north and south, but the extreme limits were kept profoundly secret. It is recorded that the master of a merchant vessel voyaging north (probably to Britain), rather than permit a Roman ship, which followed him, to learn his destination, ran his vessel ashore, and led his pursuer to do the same. The Carthaginian, then throwing the whole of the cargo overboard, lightened his vessel and got her off. Upon his return to Carthage, he was commended for doing the state a service, and compensated for the loss of his freight.

Cerne, an island on the west coast of Africa, opposite Madeira, was the chief station for business with the natives of that part of the continent. According to Herodotus, who learnt more of this commerce than the Carthaginians would willingly have allowed, a silent bargaining used to take place between the natives and merchants. The latter went ashore with their wares and kindled a fire, the ascending smoke of which was the signal that brought the natives down as soon as the sailors retired to their ships. These natives, a tall and handsome race, of dark complexion, with long but not woolly hair, and of pastoral habits, were fond of showy trinkets, which, with harness, pottery, and Egyptian linen, their visitors deposited on the shore. In exchange, they brought elephants' tusks, skins of wild beasts, and gold, placing them alongside the merchants' wares. The Carthaginians again landed; but, if dissatisfied with the proposed barter, they once more retired, leaving the goods untouched till more gold had been added; when satisfied, however, they made the exchange and departed. Herodotus speaks of the good faith which was always observed, neither side acting unfairly by the other; but when the shrewd, calculating Carthaginians met ignorant African tribes, it is not hard to see who were likely

to have the best of the bargain. There are many references in history to this mode of silent barter, in which the contracting parties scarcely saw each other. It was employed in dealing with the natives of India; and modern travellers describe the practice as continuing in Soudan to the present time. It arose probably from ignorance of each other's language, and from a native fear of approaching visitors whose power appeared so great. Nevertheless, this mode of conducting traffic could not have been universally practised, for amongst the commodities brought from the interior, black slaves appear prominent, and bulky substances, such as salt from the desert. The whole history of the negro is associated with kidnapping. Negroes were the victims of the slave-dealer, as depicted on the earliest Egyptian monuments; and the Carthaginians in later times bought them in droves for export to Italy and Greece. A trade, in which grain produced in Numidia was exchanged for dates, the produce of less fertile parts, as well as a traffic in feathers, and in furs, completes the summary of this maritime commerce. Southwards, across Sahara, the commodities brought by caravans were the same as those obtained on the west coast—slaves, salt, dates, ivory, and gold. Communication between Egypt and Ethiopia was constant, and more particularly with the city of Ammonium, now Siwah. The gems and other precious commodities of India, the perfumes and pearls from the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, the costly furniture, wool, and tapestry of Phœnicia, as well as the scarlet and purple dyes, reached Carthage by this route.

We owe to the commercial acuteness of the Carthaginians the introduction of bills of exchange and letters of credit, which have done so much to extend the domain of commerce. They also introduced the practice of bottomry, or lending money on mortgage of ships. The earliest of such documents of which mention is made, were pieces of leather impressed with the government mark, and passing current

like our bank-notes. Yet they appear not to have had any money proper, although they must have been acquainted with the coinage of Greece.

A municipal oligarchy, composed of a few wealthy families, whose intelligence in building up their own fortunes by trade insured some degree of administrative skill, possessed the chief power, and carried their business habits into the offices of government. From them were chosen, to execute the laws, two suffetes, *shuphetim*, the same title which in the Old Testament is translated "judges." Amongst other regulations by which the suffetes were bound, was one by which they were not permitted to taste wine during their term of office. The revenue was derived from tribute paid by subjugated races, from taxes upon distant dependencies, payable in produce or in gold, from rigorous import duties, and from the Spanish mines. So great was the revenue from this last source, that the whole cost of the second Punic war was thereby defrayed. In the army were to be found Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, and negroes; the officers were native Carthaginians. The most formidable parts of this heterogeneous army were the Numidian horsemen and the Balearic slingers. The citadel, Byrsa, contained barracks for twenty thousand troops, with stables for four thousand horses and three hundred elephants. The inner harbour contained the residence of the admiral, magazines and quays for the shipment of cargo, and docks for the building and repairing of two hundred merchant vessels and galleys of war. The fleet was very numerous, numbering, in the great engagement with Regulus (B.C. 256), three hundred and fifty galleys.

A gloomy and cruel religion was professed. The tutelary deity, Melkarth, has been variously identified with Baal, Bel, Jupiter, and the Sun. The Phœnician Astarte, Ashtaroath, or the Moon, was also worshipped. They sacrificed infants, even of noble families, together with captives taken in war, to Moloch or Saturn, supposed by some to be Melkarth.

The cries of the victims were drowned by the sound of fifes and drums. Their religion reflected its character upon their criminal code, which was Draconic in severity—crucifixion, for example, being a common punishment.

The best we know of Carthage is the excellence of her civil constitution, which, according to Aristotle, preserved her for several centuries from anarchy and despotism; her care for the national credit, which led to the payment of every obligation incurred during the struggle with the Romans; and her filial loyalty to Tyre, when besieged by Nebuchadnezzar and by Alexander the Great, on which occasions she opened her gates as an asylum for the Tyrian women, children, and aged people. Literature, that would have at least saved the Carthaginians from oblivion, was of less account amongst them than the acquisition and the retention of riches; and Cato's stern words, *Delenda est Carthago*, applied to its records, seem as full of meaning as when applied to the city itself.

Unseen but inevitable causes of decay were sapping the vitality of the Carthaginian empire, long before the final struggle with Rome took place. The grasping spirit which impelled them to make their own city the emporium of the world, without returning any equivalent benefit; to discountenance ship-building elsewhere; to close their harbours to all foreign vessels, and to resent the prosperity of any foreign state, was a fatal defect in their character and polity. They had not the intelligence to perceive that the more they encouraged production in their distant settlements, the greater would be the surplus flowing into their capital. A people whose patriotism was so weak as to allow them to entrust to foreigners, in whom there was no loyal sentiment, the sacred duty of defending their soil, were foredoomed to ruin. A stigma was cast upon industry by the forced labour of slaves. The rich fields covered with herds, the artificial irrigation from numerous streams, the vineyards and olive-gardens of the

wealthy, were the results of the toil of negroes, whose zeal was damped by the knowledge that they could never rise out of servitude. When the long struggle came with Rome, the Carthaginians seem to have had no friends. Although temperate and painstaking, they had become unfitted, by habits, laws, constitution, and temperament, for military discipline or prolonged defence. Despite the military genius of Hamilcar, and the magnanimity and devotion of Hannibal, Carthage was worsted in the first and second Punic War, was forced to agree to a humiliating peace, and ultimately deprived of all its vast possessions. The third Punic War, B.C. 149—146, ended in the conquest of the city by the Romans, who were resolved upon its utter destruction. The burning of the temples, palaces, and monuments lasted seventeen days, and of seven hundred thousand inhabitants before the siege, only fifty thousand remained alive at its close. Under Augustus a new or Roman Carthage rose near the site of the former capital, and became one of the second cities of the empire; but its Mediterranean trade had departed.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *PART I.—EGYPT BEFORE THE ERA OF ALEXANDER.*

THE ancient commercial history of Egypt is divided by strongly marked features into two epochs—that before and that after the time of Alexander. How far back the first period extended we know not. We see through the haze of time a nation apart, yet introduced at length to the fellowship of the outer world, chiefly through the persistence of Phœnician and Greek merchants, much in the same manner as the peculiar nations of China and Japan are, in our own day, gradually being opened to Western commerce. There is reason to believe that Egypt was a settled nation long before the foundation of Nineveh and Babylon; but Egypt did not enter into free intercourse with the rest of the world till after the time of Alexander. Two sea boundaries afford an extensive line of coast, while it is united to Asia by the isthmus of Suez, and lies open to the interior of Africa, the Nile forming a grand channel of communication with the south. The position of Egypt, between the cradle lands of the human race and the African continent; the affinities of the people which connected them on the one hand with the Semitic races of Arabia, Syria, and Babylonia, and on the other with the Ethiopians and Libyans; the wonderful fertility of the Nile valley, in consequence of which “all nations came to Egypt to buy corn” (Gen. xii. 10; xxvi. 1; xli. 57), combined to make that country a great centre of commercial intercourse. The country was flooded three months in every year by the overflow of its river, and was likewise artificially irrigated by a network of canals, as well as from Lake Moëris,

constructed by the king whose name it bears, as a reservoir for the superabundant waters at the time of inundation. Inland boats and barges, made of boards of papyrus, were in general use on the Nile and on the canals as the common means of communication between the towns. A sailor caste is spoken of, and boats occupied a conspicuous place in the religious festivals.

The Egyptians reached, perhaps, the highest development possible to a people excluding themselves from association with other states. Their system of castes confined trades and professions to certain families, and made productive skill in the various arts and handicrafts descend as an heirloom from parent to child. Resulting from this practice, a superior degree of excellence was manifested in their works of metal and wood. Their harps excelled those of modern make in beauty of form, and their chairs and couches were of chaste designs. In wickerwork they showed great artistic skill. For many purposes of art and utility they used a compound metal of a green colour, the method of alloying which is now lost. Their cutlery and weapons of war were also made of a kind of brass or bronze. Elegance was specially aimed at in their pottery; the examples now in our museums are made of fine clay, and are of very beautiful forms. Excellent cotton cloths and muslins, together with woollen fabrics and embroidered work or tapestry, were among the products of their industry. Buying and selling fell to the lot of the women, while household duties were attended to by the men. In accordance with this custom, it was the daughter, not the son, on whom devolved the duty of supporting a helpless parent. The laws promoted self-dependence. Securities for loans were contrived, usury was forbidden, and the rights of creditors were limited to the property of their debtors. They were a grave and unsociable people, of quiet, temperate habits, and submissive under control.

Every patch of the country that water could reach was

cultivated, and good roads were formed. The Egyptians consumed more of vegetable than of animal food. The rich brown deposit of the Nile yielded lavishly grain, garlic, the lotus, and gourds. The crops succeeded each other at intervals of six or eight weeks, and, like the soil, were literally, as well as metaphorically, the "gift of the Nile." Higher up the river valley were quarried the massive syenite slabs used in the erection of their temples, and the obelisks or needles which, at a later date, took Cleopatra's name. Eastward, between the river and the Red Sea, a mountainous strip produced marble and the only metals found in Egypt. Camels were numerous; and the celebrated horses of the Delta were, from the flatness of the district, of great utility for chariots and warlike purposes.

Long before Egypt owned vessels fit to navigate the sea, companies of merchantmen traversed the country in all directions, bearing "spicery and balm and myrrh, and almonds, frankincense, and wines" (Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11) from Arabia and Syria. Gold, ivory, feathers, skins, and slaves came through Ethiopia from Central Africa, and fine salt was also imported. Of this intercourse imperishable records remain in the hieroglyphics, paintings, and sculptures.

The jealousy of the Egyptians regarding the intrusion of foreigners by sea was the effect of fear. Possessing no timber for shipbuilding, and having a distaste for navigation, they were ill prepared to resist invasion; and as the first sailors were as much pirates as traders, no vessels, for a long period, were allowed to anchor in the Nile. Caravan traders only, not being formidable, were tolerated, with a kind of contempt.

Later in history Egypt owned a fleet of four hundred vessels, engaged in the coasting trade, and even venturing as far as India; the wood, copper, and iron necessary for their construction being obtained from the Phœnicians.



Psammetichus, who ruled over Egypt B.C. 671-617, was the first king that dared to break in upon ancient prescription. He not only opened the country to Phœnician and Greek vessels, but employed Greek mercenaries in his army. These measures brought wealth to the state, but gave great offence to the warrior caste, the whole of whom, in a body of about a quarter of a million, emigrated into Ethiopia, where they had a district assigned to them. From the reign of Psammetichus, there was no national army, and a result undesigned but of great moment followed the policy of entrusting to other than their own citizens the defence of the kingdom. It led to gradual loss of nationality. The native writing grew into disuse, and after the Persian conquest, B.C. 525, it became extinct. The Greek alphabet superseded hieroglyphics, hieratic, and demotic characters; the national records excited no pride in the past, and became a dead letter, to be but partially unsealed after a lapse of two thousand years.

Amasis, the foreigner's friend, the grandson of Psammetichus, and son of Nekos, the Pharaoh-Necho of Scripture, allowed the Greeks to erect temples and warehouses, and in the last year of his reign, 526 B.C., he removed all previous restrictions upon vessels by declaring the mouths of the river free to navigation. Many Greek merchants, therefore, settled in Egypt, introducing the manners and customs of their own country. Egyptian youths were placed with these families in order to learn the Greek language. In this way there gradually arose a class of interpreters who became imbued with Greek habits and modes of thought, which they communicated to their own families. Cyrus conquered the country, 525 B.C. Cambyses committed great atrocities, but the fate of his expedition against Ammonium and Ethiopia put an end to the commotions of war, and the gentler government of Darius Hystaspes left the Egyptians free to do as they pleased, so long as they did not fail in the payment of their yearly quota of a tribute of 700 talents,

equal to £125,000, which was raised partly in Libya, Barca, and Cyrene, as well as in Egypt. Besides this, the country had to provide with corn a Persian garrison of one hundred and twenty thousand men, stationed at Memphis. The fishing in Lake Moëris was likewise monopolised by the conquerors. Under these comparatively easy conditions, commerce resumed its prosperous career. The Persian supremacy lasted from 525 B.C. till 332 B.C., when Alexander the Great conquered the country. During these two centuries trade and manufactures became much extended, but it is difficult to distinguish the wealth of the Greeks and Phœnicians from that of the natives. The paintings and sculptures in the tombs depict weavers and dyers using ornamented distaffs and looms. Linen and cotton fabrics, and silk from the byssus of the pinna, were worked in unmixed white or dyed of various tints, red, yellow, blue, green, and black. These stuffs were renowned for their quality and costliness in every country which Egyptian produce reached.

Greek writers affirm that thirty thousand cities existed, and many millions of people. So exuberant was the produce of the Nile valley, that a large surplus of population was always at the monarch's command, to carry out his gigantic architectural projects. This was the era of the erection of those huge monuments whose ruins astonish the modern world. Kings fought hard against oblivion. Lifetimes were devoted to render imperishable the records of great rulers whose names are now forgotten, whose conquests are deemed fabulous, and whose embalmed bodies are undistinguishable amongst millions of other mummies. Lake Moëris, on the other hand, and the canals of Sesostris remain, as evidences of wisdom and skill applied to domestic improvement, and to the development of natural resources.

*PART II.—EGYPT AFTER THE ERA OF ALEXANDER—  
ALEXANDRIA.*

ALEXANDER'S ambition urged him to leave permanent monuments of his fame. He destroyed cities, but built greater. After the destruction of Tyre, Egypt submitted to the conqueror without an effort in self-defence. His keen eye, seeing the capabilities of the country, and the commanding position of the Delta, fixed upon a part of the coast opposite the island of Pharos as a site for a metropolis. Democrates, carrying out the instructions of his master, connected Pharos with the mainland by a jetty or mole, and thus divided the channel into two harbours, facing the new city. Alexandria was built upon a grand plan, having, including the suburbs, a circuit of fifteen miles ; while two noble roads, a hundred feet broad, and adorned with temples, colonnades, and palaces, crossed it at right angles. These formed at their intersection a noble open place or square, whence could be viewed vessels sailing in from the sea to either harbour. One of the quarters thus marked out was wholly devoted to the palaces and gardens of royalty ; and here, a few years afterwards, in the chief of the royal temples, was deposited the body of the great founder, in a coffin of gold.

The successors of Alexander in Egypt were the Ptolemies, who raised the city to the summit of its opulence and greatness. Ptolemy Philadelphus reared a lighthouse of white marble, on the island of Pharos, to the height of four hundred feet, adorned with columns, and described as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Fires on its summit at night guided vessels safely into port. A modern lighthouse now stands on the same spot. Lake Marëotis, on the south of the city, was formed into a third harbour, by a canal communicating with that on the east. The western harbour was so spacious and deep, that vessels too large for any other port could there find anchorage, and

load and discharge their freights. Such a ship, sent by Hiero, King of Sicily, as a present to one of the Ptolemies, is said to have had on board small gardens, with water-courses for their irrigation, an apparatus for slinging stones, and eight lofty towers, and to have taxed the utmost powers of Archimedes to make it manageable. Caravans brought their merchandise as far as Lake Marëotis, whence their treasures were conveyed, by canal, to the adjoining harbour.

The convenience of Alexandria as a mart for trade between the East and the West, attracted merchants from every commercial country. Its inhabitants thus became cosmopolitan, blending the thoughts and manners of all nations. The Ptolemies, especially the first four princes of that name, fostered the development of the city. Ptolemy Lagus, or Soter, encouraged foreigners to reside there, by granting them districts to live in. As many as one hundred thousand Jews were at one time inhabitants of the city. Although this prince was almost constantly at war, he still made commerce his care. He owned, besides a powerful navy, a fine fleet of merchant ships, promoted expeditions to establish trade, and signed treaties of commerce with other states. His son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who inherited the same spirit, dug a canal for ships from the Nile to the Red Sea, and, to increase the inland traffic, lined the caravan routes with wells and caravanserais. Arsinoë, Berenice, and Myos Hormos arose on the banks of the new canal, whence commodities transferred from ship to caravan were conveyed to Coptos and Thebes. It was a boast in his reign that "no citizen was idle in Alexandria." Even the blind and lame were taught to labour. Glass-blowing, the weaving of linen, paper-making from the papyrus, and the arts connected with the shipping trade, employed the people; while the most fruitful country known to mankind provided them with abundant food. The basis of commercial prosperity, thus laid, was broad

enough to bear, without serious peril, the devastations of the civil wars caused by the follies and incapacities of some of the succeeding Ptolemies.

Ptolemy Euergetes (Ptolemy III.) succeeding to the rich inheritance of his fathers, determined to make his capital the most learned, as well as the most commercial city of the time. He founded a school for teaching the sciences connected with commerce, and invited philosophers of every country to regard Alexandria as their home, and Eratosthenes, who suggested the means of measuring the earth by methods similar to our own, was among those who responded.

Ptolemy IV. possessed a fleet of more than four hundred ships. The crew of one is said to have consisted of seven thousand four hundred sailors and mariners, and the size, as described, is almost incredible. His fleet must have been numerous, for there are proofs that the Egyptian trade extended to the Euxine; and his influence must have been great, inasmuch as he sought and obtained the abolition of the tolls at the Bosphorus. Cleopatra, the last of this celebrated dynasty, added four hundred vessels to the fleet of Mark Antony; and when the great battle of Actium was lost, she was prevented from retiring to India by the Arabs having burnt another fleet belonging to her in the Red Sea.

By the destruction of Carthage, B.C. 146, the great trade of that city was diverted to Alexandria, which thus received a new impetus. Its commodities necessarily comprised almost everything marketable that could link nations together. Primarily, Alexandria drew its stores from Egypt, of which it was for the time being the capital. Coptos, below Thebes, was the starting-point for the caravans of Arabia and India, as Kopt, its modern representative, is now for the pilgrimages to Mecca. Asia and India despatched their treasures to Alexandria for further distribution; and Europe, from its remotest islands, sent to the

came mart her surplus produce. From the south and west came the merchandise of Soudan.

We do not trace to Alexandria any inventions that have modified commerce. There are extant coins of the Ptolemies, showing an acquaintance with money; but these, though an advance beyond the primitive silver rings and ingots of Egypt, were merely adopted from the Greeks, and are inscribed with Greek characters. The city was long noted for the fostering care it bestowed upon art and science; and even while its trade languished under the military rule of the Romans, the library contained, it is affirmed, a volume for every inhabitant—a larger number of books than were ever collected elsewhere, before the invention of printing. The whole are, however, lost to us.

### *PART III.—ETHIOPIA.*

ETHIOPIA is the name given to the region of the Nile above the first cataract at Assouda, and includes Nubia and Abyssinia. The name has also been applied to the whole of Africa, south of Egypt, because of the colour of the inhabitants. The ancient capital, near Shendy, was Meroë, the remains of which, in the absence of written records, warrant the inference that the city was of great antiquity. Meroë was situated on a triangular piece of land, several hundred miles long, formed by the fork of the Blue and the White Nile. It was a fertile district, rich in timber and minerals, and gold mines were worked in the hills. Scattered in profusion over the surface of this tract are the ruins of pyramids, sepulchres, obelisks, and temples. Built of sandstone, their appearance shows more of the wear of ages than the syenite structures of Egypt, and but few of the hieroglyphics can be deciphered. These remains lend probability to the opinion held by many that Meroë was the birthplace of the arts and sciences, and the cradle of civilisation. On the other hand, some writers

trace the civilisation of Meroë to the emigration of the discontented warrior caste of Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus. Whether Egypt was peopled from Nubia, or Nubia from Egypt, is an unsettled point. It is certain that Ethiopia was a powerful and civilised kingdom in ages very remote, and that no more than a nominal conquest of the kingdom was ever made. Many sovereigns of Ethiopian race, even entire dynasties, ruled over Egypt. While the terrible barrier of its deserts kept Ethiopia secure from invasion without, its capital was open to trade from all parts of the compass. Numerous wells, which might be called artesian, dug in the Libyan sands, attest the existence of a great caravan trade from the centre of Africa. The Meroëse also founded Ammonium in the same desert, and their king was priest of Ammon. The temple of this place was, like that of the Hall of Camels at Palmyra, part of a caravanserai, or encampment for traders. It was in an expedition against this city that the army of Cambyses was overwhelmed with sand. Napata, now Merawe, in Dongola, likewise owed its origin to the Meroëse.

The eastern trade of this great capital reached as far as India. There is a tradition of the existence of a canal which connected the Nile at Meroë with the Red Sea, and formed a great highway of trade. A caravan route across the Arabian desert connected the Red Sea with the Persian Gulf, where, as we have already seen, was a depot of Indian and Asiatic produce. Caravan communication existed likewise with Carthage by way of Great Leptis, and with Egypt. Meroë was therefore one of the chief commercial marts of its day. The kingdom reached its highest prosperity about seven or eight centuries before Christ.

In Ethiopia, the Nile, bordered by high banks preventing its overflow, consists of a series of rapids and cataracts which for six hundred miles render it of very little use for navigation. Mountains approach the river closely on each side, and the width of the valley does not in parts exceed

seven miles. The southern territory, at the foot of the Abyssinian high lands, is the most humid and fertile. Irrigation in the arid parts was effected by rude canals. The border tribes lived by ostrich and elephant hunting.

Five different nations have been enumerated as inhabiting Ethiopia, viz., the Meroëse, the Troglodytes, the Macrobii, the Nubians, and the Egyptian "warrior caste," of whom the first were in every respect the most civilised. They were the husbandmen, merchants, philosophers, priests, and seers, and worshipped Jupiter Ammon, to whom was consecrated the city of Ammonium in the Desert.

History is silent respecting the decline of the Ethiopian kingdom. In the reign of Augustus, B.C. 22, the Romans defeated Candace, queen of Ethiopia, but could not keep possession of the country, and few records are extant of a more recent date.



## CHAPTER VII.

### GREECE.

GREECE proper, in ancient times, occupied about the same area as the modern kingdom. Washed on three sides by the Mediterranean, and its coast deeply indented, every part of the country is within easy reach of the sea, and, though united to the mainland, its character is insular. Off the western coast there is a range of large islands, stretching from Corcyra (Corfu) to Cythera (Cerigo), and on the east lie the Cyclades. The designation of Archipelago, first applied to the numerous islands of the Ægean Sea, has since become the common appellation of every insular group. Throughout the peninsula, mountainous barriers separated different communities. The diversity of feature and produce which marked this classic soil was reflected in the Greek character and institutions. We possess no authentic record of the founding of Greece as a nation. In its natural characteristics it was eminently original—a land to which the world is indebted for new thoughts departing from Oriental monotony. Just as repose was the ruling principle in Egypt, so restlessness distinguished Greece. It was composed of a number of states, differing in dialect, laws, and industry; but all endowed with the love of freedom and enterprise. Such a people became of necessity colonisers and merchants. No single city of Greece ever contained within itself the wealth of Carthage or Tyre; but the republic of Athens in its best days attained a prosperity never reached even by Babylon.

There are many allusions to the early intimate relations between the Greeks and Phœnicians; and monuments have

been found in Athens itself, with Phœnician inscriptions, commemorating sojourners from Tyre, Sidon, and Citium, one of which may be seen in the British Museum. Phœnicians opened the Greek mines. They supplied the Greeks with tin, which came into extensive use; from the Greeks they obtained polished iron, unwrought iron being procured from Carthage. The Greeks, however, soon shook off their dependence on the Phœnicians, and became their keenest commercial rivals.

Corinth, Elis, Argos, Messenia, and Attica were the leading commercial states, from which colonists spread over the neighbouring archipelago, and multiplied the marts of trade. Colonisation was a distinctive feature of Greek enterprise and policy. Æolian, Doric, and Ionian settlements were founded in Asia Minor, where numerous towns arose, of which Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Phœcea especially, disputed with the Phœnicians the profit of the Eastern and Western traffic. The famous royal caravan track between Sardis and Susa competed with the maritime route for the treasures of Persia, and all the above cities shared in the proceeds. Smyrna was the lovely crown of Ionia, the ornament of Asia, and Ephesus was celebrated for its riches and splendour. Miletus was scarcely second to Tyre in luxury and wealth. Milesian colonists settled round the Euxine, opened up the traffic of another Mediterranean, founded the first Greek station in Egypt, and established Naucratis on the Nile. Cyrene, in Africa, was likewise founded by the Greeks. Marseilles was a settlement of the Phœceans, the inhabitants still fancifully designating themselves by the ancient name. Tarentum, Sybaris, and Croton were the principal towns that sprang up in Magna Græcia; Syracuse and Agrigentum the chief in Sicily. Patriotism caused the Greeks to extend to their colonies the name of the mother-country, and to call the colonists by the common appellation of Hellenes.

The Greeks, like sea-rovers generally, were first induced to build ships for the sake of plunder, rather than of commerce. Thucydides graphically pictures the inhabitants of the shores or the isles as people who, having once risked the journey across from one coast to another, grew thievish, and wandering abroad in quest of booty, would fall upon any straggling town, rifle it of everything worth carrying off, and regard the act as glorious. Bred a race of hardy sailors, and afterwards better engaged in colonisation and peaceful commerce, there arose, distinct from the nobility, a wealthy class, holding property not in lands but in portable goods. They congregated in cities, instituted governments for the protection of life and wealth, and continued trading and accumulating riches. When the necessities of life had been supplied, a taste for comfort and luxury soon arose. Architecture and sculpture, pottery, and work in the precious metals, attained a perfection since emulated in vain. They devoted themselves also to study and contemplation; and Greek philosophy has ever since influenced human thought.

Athens and Corinth were the chief seats of commerce in Greece proper. ATHENS possessed three harbours, of which the Piræus was the most important. A wall, sixty feet high, and wide enough for two chariots to run abreast, encircled the port, which was also united to the city by another double wall, five miles long. Attica did not yield more than half the grain consumed by the Athenians, and corn was, consequently, the most important commodity imported. It came from Egypt, Palestine, and Sicily; but the great granary of Greece was then, as it is now for Europe, the Crimea and the Ukraine. Thrace and Macedonia sent timber; from Africa came ivory and gold; from Egypt, linen and paper; while war provided endless consignments of black and white slaves from the outlying parts of Europe and Africa. A trade in furs was carried on with the Scythians north of the Sea of Azov; and from the same people were

procured gold, horses, and skins. Athens monopolised Greek commerce for more than a hundred and fifty years. The chief export trade consisted of wine, oil, figs, wax, and honey, the most fragrant in the world, from Mount Hymettus. Representatives from every mart were to be found in the warehouses of the Piræus. Olives were most abundant, and the fruit was consecrated to Minerva, in recognition of the value of its oil. The entire freedom of trade permitted by the Athenians attracted to their harbour all the choicest productions of the known world, from the snow-clad regions of the north, to the glowing sands of the south. In return, the exquisite creations of Athenian looms, forges, and chisels, went forth to ennoble and refine the manners of mankind. The Athenians lavished their magnificence chiefly on temples and public buildings. Their dwellings were small and externally unornamented. The interiors, however, were sumptuously furnished and decorated. Babylonian tapestries, Thracian pictures and chairs, Carthaginian pillows, Corinthian cushions, and specimens of Athenian art, enriched the apartments. The baths were constructed of marble from Mount Hymettus ; and the dressing-rooms displayed costly fabrics and perfumed requisites for the toilet. A levy was made upon nature for every delicacy of food and wines, with which to spread the table. Chaste jewellery, of the rarest value, adorned the women. The affluence of the state was only subdued in its display by that artistic or poetic perception of harmony which the Greeks evinced from their infancy. As many as ten thousand houses and one hundred thousand citizens, with three times that number of slaves, were enumerated when Athens was in its pride.

CORINTH had the reputation of being the most luxurious city in Greece. Its name has come down to us as indicative of profusion. Its position on the isthmus, uniting the peninsula now called the Morea to the mainland, gave it two harbours, and thus enabled it to command the sea,

both towards Italy and Asia Minor. 'Corinth did not attain eminence so soon as Athens, but kept it longer. It was a powerful city, as remarkable for its manufactures as its trade, being especially celebrated for metal-work and porcelain. The order of architecture named from the city shows that Corinthian art had reached great perfection. The Romans described the place as containing more statues than any city they had ever taken ; and there is a story that during the conflagration which followed its capture, streams of silver and other metals became commingled in the streets to such an extent as to originate a new commercial product, afterwards called Corinthian metal.\*

Many of the Greek settlements emulated Tyre in commerce and opulence. *BYZANTIUM* was so happily situated, that, as Hallam observes, its site was selected, by the Greek colonisers, with a sagacity to which the course of events has given the appearance of prescience. Seated on the confines of Europe and Asia, it links the two shores of the Bosphorus rather than belongs to either. Commanding the Euxine, and the terminus of the grand caravan system, the chief line of which was between Sardis and Susa, it became the entrepôt of the known world. Corn and skins from the Ukraine, furs from Siberia, slaves from Circassia, salt fish, honey, wax, and fat cattle, were obtained in return for oil and wine. Even in those primitive days, the Crimea and Southern Russia had become the granaries of more civilised nations, and for the promotion of the trade the Greeks built towns of wood along the shores of the Euxine. Byzantium was placed by its caravan trade in communication with the Ganges and China, whence its

\* This origin of "Corinth bronze" is on the face of it fabulous. The promiscuous fusion and intermixture of metals, as described, would not have produced a homogeneous alloy so renowned, nor would the secret of making it have been so completely lost. The Corinthians were indeed long before as skilful in melting together gold, silver, copper, and other substances, to produce their famous composition, as they were in transforming it into the purest style of vases and other forms of grace and beauty.

bazaars were filled with silk fabrics, pearls and gems, spices and balsams, ivory and gold, cotton and linen goods, and Indian wares. The commodities sent in exchange consisted of red coral and amber, dredged from the Mediterranean coasts, glass and metal work. Under the name of Byzantium, the city flourished for a thousand years (B.C. 658 to A.D. 330). It was alternately held during the Peloponnesian wars by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and after the expulsion of the latter (B.C. 390) by Thrasybulus, it remained for some time independent. The Macedonians were afterwards masters of the city. Severus (A.D. 196) took it after a three years' siege, and razed a large part of it to the ground. Constantine (A.D. 330) rebuilt it, called it after his own name, and removed thither the seat of empire from Rome.

The island of CRETE for a considerable period possessed an extensive commerce, and is reported to have contained a hundred cities; but it declined, and fell into decay. The common proverb declared that the "Cretans were always liars," a character inconsistent with sound commercial success.

The coveting of CYPRUS, which may be seen from Phœnicia, was probably the first stimulus to the Mediterranean traffic. RHODES, like Crete and Cyprus, owed to its excellent position a commerce out of all proportion to its natural resources. The climate of this island was very fine, and its soil produced excellent wines. A statue of Apollo, called the Colossus of Rhodes, is said to have bestridden the mouth of the harbour, bearing in its outstretched hand a beacon light. There were three hundred and twenty tons of brass used in its construction, which took twelve years to complete; it stood seventy cubits or one hundred and five feet high. The Colossus was shattered by an earthquake, B.C. 224, after standing fifty-six years. Fragments of it remained where it fell for nearly a thousand years, when they were removed,

on nine hundred camels, by a Jew, who bought them of one of the generals of Caliph Othman. Rhodes rose from its ruins, and, till the Romans destroyed its freedom, continued to be the chief carrier of the Levant. To Rhodes we are probably indebted for the foundation of maritime law, and for the system of marine insurance.

MILETUS, the queen of Asiatic Greece, standing near the mouth of the river Meander, boasted of eighty colonies. Its mariners, in order to extend its commerce, ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules; but its chief settlements were in the Black Sea. It possessed immense flocks, and was noted for its woollen fabrics. It was the emporium for Lydia and Phrygia, and from it the products of these districts were distributed abroad. The city, after offering a vain resistance, was left in ruins by Alexander the Great.

Colonists from Corinth founded SYRACUSE, which eventually became the capital of Sicily. It was one of the most famous Greek colonies, and its wealth and grandeur were based, as in the parent state, upon commerce. When most prosperous it had a circuit of twenty-two miles, and the splendour of its edifices, built of stone quarried in the neighbourhood, was not surpassed even by that of Carthage. The Athenians and Carthaginians in turn besieged the city, but each met with a disastrous repulse. Syracuse is celebrated as having been the abode of Archimedes, who for more than two years, by his mechanical devices, aided his fellow-citizens in withstanding the Romans. After its capture by Marcellus, in 212 B.C., Syracuse became the chief town of the Roman province of Sicily.

Greece, as a Roman province, retained the supremacy of trade. To Greek teachers the Romans owed almost everything in literature and philosophy. They entertained no such fear of the Greeks as they had of the Carthaginians, on the score of military rivalry; and their policy was, therefore, simply that of conquest, not annihilation.

We are now in a position to consider the benefits which

were conferred on the world at large by the commerce and refinements of the Greeks. In this investigation our interest centres in Athens. Spartan pride and roughness must be passed by. The contempt for industry, and the want of sound economy, exhibited in the laws of Lycurgus, might make a state feared, but could not make it truly great or lasting. Baron Liebig says :—"The source of wealth, trade, and power of the Grecian states, when the latter were in their prime, was a highly-developed and widely-spread industry. Corinth produced what would correspond to Birmingham and Sheffield wares ; Athens was the centre of the manufactures which we now find divided between Leeds, Staffordshire, and London, such as woollen cloths, dyes, pottery, gold and silver utensils, and ships. The citizens were manufacturers on the largest scale—ship-owners and merchants, who had their offices and factories along the whole coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The men of science were the sons of the citizens, and thus became familiar with trade, manufacture, and commerce. Thales was a trader in oil, Socrates was a stonemason, Aristotle an apothecary ; Plato and Solon were not strangers to trade. In ancient Greece the learned man spoke the same language as the tradesman. The mind of the latter had been as highly cultivated as that of the philosopher, the difference between them consisting only in the direction of their knowledge. Democratic institutions frequently brought them into personal intercourse. In fact, the thirty-eight chapters of 'Problems' appear to be no other than a series of questions from tradesmen, artists, musicians, architects, and engineers, which Aristotle endeavoured to solve, as far as his knowledge enabled him to do. Until the time of Pericles, no other country of the ancient world united the necessary conditions for the rise of science as they were found in Greece, owing to its social state and to the intimate relationship that existed between the productive and intellectual classes. *But Greece was a slave state, and in*



*slavery lay the ban which contracted its civilisation within fixed limits that could not be extended."* Servile labour enfeebled the Greek republics, and, with political vanity which followed upon wealth and power, undermined the mechanical arts, made free industry sink in public estimation, and trade to languish. Expenditure increased as production diminished, thrift and zeal gave place to profusion, while political embarrassment and domestic want provoked attacks upon the dealers in corn.

We owe to Greece the invention of coinage. Iron tokens, to which an artificial value was affixed, were used in Sparta; brass coins were used in other states. Athens from the first issued gold and silver coins, the standard of value being so carefully maintained that they passed current without question in every state. Licences to follow certain trades originated in Athens, and laws were made to discourage usury. Debtors were severely dealt with. Deliberate fraud was punished with death, and bankrupts were sold and kept in bondage, till they had saved enough to redeem themselves. Plato was in danger of being thus enslaved for debt, but his friends ransomed him. A public register of debts was kept. We must not forget, however, that our own laws not long ago punished forgery and even more venial crimes with death, and caused debtors to be imprisoned for life, without giving them the chance of labouring for their redemption. To Corinth we owe the appointment of consuls at mercantile ports. The consuls were merchants who knew the manners and customs of the people with whom their countrymen had commercial dealings, and who could be relied on to arbitrate justly when disputes or misunderstandings arose.

Alexander the Great combined with his love of conquest a desire to make Greek trade universal. He planned the conquest of the East and Carthage, of Italy and Western Europe, a group of states of which his native land would be the centre. and Babylon the great Asiatic emporium. His

career, though cut short at an early age, nevertheless contributed partially to bring about this result; inasmuch as through the Greek garrisons settling in the places where they were stationed, the language of Greece became widely diffused, and a strong desire arose for commercial intercourse.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *PART I.—ROME.*

For a thousand years the Romans made conquest their policy. They were essentially a martial people. Warfare, however, is destructive of the means of subsistence. While, therefore, we inquire into the industry and commerce of the Romans, with the view of ascertaining how much of our present prosperity is due to them, there is also, on the other side, the question of how much has been lost by the repression or destruction of the genius and individuality of nations, of which they were the guilty cause. The patriotic spirit which leads men to die for their country lost its force in a common subjection to Rome. The sentiment of devotion could not be strong, when the only tie uniting the provinces to the capital was that of subjugation and tribute. The fall of Rome left every European state denationalised, and a spurious civilisation was followed by centuries of barbarism.

While the Roman territories were small—as late, indeed, as the time of Alexander—agriculture was honoured, and the rulers of the state tilled their own lands. When the wealth of Rome increased by conquest, the cultivation of the land, and the manufactures in connection therewith, were made servile occupations, so that the poor citizens who would have been skilled labourers had there been no slaves, became state-fed paupers ready for every political commotion. In the works of Roman writers there are allusions which prove that the Roman citizens did not despise the profits of commerce, and that when even a senator could engage, though illegally and under a feigned name, in the slave or corn traffic, or

turn the skill of his slaves to account, his aversion to the occupation was overcome. Crassus and Cato in this manner gained much of their wealth. Rome, as the capital of the world, the centre to which tribute converged through a thousand channels, disposed of this revenue in a profuse and sumptuous luxury, without parallel either before or since. Denied natural resources for interchange, there poured in continuous streams of commodities both by land and sea, for which the tribute from the provinces and the plunder accruing from conquest afforded means of payment. While the Roman citizens thus consumed the wealth brought to their city, foreign merchants made it a cosmopolitan mart or clearing-house for a fresh dispersion of the products of the Alexandrian trade, the traffic with China and India, the Scythian fur trade, and the trade with Africa, Spain, and Gaul. The productions of every clime were thus brought to Rome, "the gate-keeper of the world," and her merchants enjoyed the advantages of universal commerce without the expenditure of time and money required for extensive travel.

Amongst the middle classes, in the early age of simple wants, a merchant's guild was instituted, but was not held in honour. The fruit and corn dealers took prominent places in the home trade; smiths and carpenters formed a *centuria* to themselves, and tanners and cordwainers were thriving handicraftsmen. Weaving and dyeing were subsequently added to the limited list of manufacturing industries. The facilities afforded for interchange were purely political. The capital was never anything else than a depot, importing everything, and exporting no produce of its own. Thus corn arrived from Sicily, Sardinia, and Egypt; amber from the Baltic; fine cloths from Malta and Mauritania; silks, spices, and gems, by caravan from the Indies. The produce of the soil, the mines and the industry of every province, as well as costly works of taste and of genius, were at the command of a prodigal aristocracy and wealthy

citizens, of victorious generals and of provincial governors, who returned to squander the treasures they had amassed by official avarice and extortion. The revenue that poured into the treasury was prodigious. The private fortunes of some of the citizens exceeded the wealth of many modern kingdoms. Roman profusion was copied in other cities. The disinterment of Pompeii and Herculaneum from their graves of Vesuvian ashes and lava has disclosed the splendid decoration common in the apartments of the wealthy. The exteriors of the houses were plain, but the interiors astonish us with their adornments. In one house a mosaic consisted of nearly a million and a half of separate pieces in one hundred and ninety-eight squares, upon which are depicted, of the size and colours of life, twenty-six warriors, representing the battle of Issus between Alexander and Darius. Two edifices are of special interest as having belonged to the illustrious Caius Sallustius and Marcus Arius Diomedes. The dwellings corresponded in their fashion and appointments to those of Rome, but did not equal the latter in their sumptuous proportions. Pompeian baths, temples, and public buildings, also, scarcely vied with the magnificent structures of Rome. It was a saying of Crassus that "no one was rich who could not support an army" —he himself being worth a million and a half sterling in landed property alone. Scaurus, the step-son of Sylla, built an amphitheatre capable of accommodating eighty thousand spectators. It was supported by three hundred and sixty costly marble, glass, and gilt pillars, and beautified with three thousand statues; even by such profuse expenditure as this, he was unable to dissipate the enormous fortune bequeathed to him by his father. Though the Roman houses were comparatively small, yet the sums lavished upon their construction and furniture altogether transcend modern notions of costliness. A single table, according to Pliny, was often valued at a price exceeding that of the spoils of a city. Cæsar states that the

house of Clodius the tribune cost £120,000. The suburban and country villas likewise afford examples of Roman luxury. Baths covered immense areas. Ponds for fish and eels—of which the Romans were very fond—aviaries for birds, extensive parks for game, and gardens for the choicest fruits, were regarded as necessities. Within doors were rooms for every division of the day and every season of the year.

Voluptuousness reached its highest extravagance during the time of the emperors. To the taste for profusion was added that for the rare delicacies of the table. Pyramids of fowl and game, Trojan horses (wild boars filled with a variety of small game), peacocks, cranes, and nightingales, appeared at the dinners of the great. "If a man will eat daintily," a writer of the period observes, "he must indulge in Samian peacocks, Phrygian fowls, Melian cranes, Ætolian kids, Chalcedonian porpoises, Tarentine oysters, Chian mussels, Egyptian dates, Spanish acorns, murenæ or sea-eels from Tarshish, pikes from Pessinus, sea-fish from Rhodes." Mark Antony served up eight whole boars to twelve guests. Caligula wantonly dissolved pearls in vinegar as part of the fare at his feasts. Thousands of peacocks and nightingales were killed for their brains alone. Vitellius and Heliogabalus are to this day held up as the types of gluttony. Lucullus, a more refined epicure, dedicated his saloons to certain gods, and affixed a scale of entertainment to each apartment. When acting as the host of his friends, Pompey and Cæsar, he directed his servants to furnish an extemporaneous supper in the room Apollo, and explained to his guests, when they were astonished at its magnificence, that it was the rule of his house to spend £1,500 upon every banquet in that apartment. The extravagance in dress corresponded with that in eating. Lucullus lent a hundred purple robes, and offered two hundred for the actors in some public games. It is related of the Roman Apicius, that when by senseless

extravagance he had reduced his patrimony to the last £80,000, he put an end to his life as the only means of escaping destitution. Cæsar, when starting to administer the government of Spain, was arrested by his creditors for a debt of a million and a half sterling; nor would they allow him to set out till Crassus became his surety. A short tenure of office, however, enabled Cæsar not only to pay his debts, but to use a still larger sum in purchasing popularity at Rome. Mark Antony out-distanced all these examples. In a few years of his administration of the states of Asia Minor it is said that he appropriated about forty millions sterling of taxes, and then made the people pay the same amount as before twice a year instead of once.

Roman domination was unfavourable to commerce: the productive resources of the earth declined as it became Romanised. The Romans were, however, too sagacious to rest satisfied with barren conquests. Though unwilling to labour, they stimulated industry to a certain degree in every country that came under their sway. They removed the sense of subjugation by enrolling the conquered people as part and parcel of the empire. They made roads and bridges, they built cities and aqueducts, and brought the soil into cultivation. They encouraged the arts and sciences of the Greeks, and extended their own civilisation to many other countries. The Romans, likewise, in obtaining the supremacy of the world, put an end to the incessant petty warfare between rival states, and established an unrestricted trade and a community of interests in all their provinces. Their chief service to commerce was that of rendering intercommunication everywhere easy and safe. Their great works in road-making spread over every province, from Britain to the Euphrates. So broad and solid were many of these roads that parts still remain entire. Watling Street in our own country is an example. This road led from the Kentish coast through London to Carnarvon, and is still

one of the best English roads. After good roads followed the system of posts or stages, by which couriers in the service of the emperors could change horses—a plan said to have been first used by Cyrus. The post only conveyed public despatches.

Our monetary and banking systems have both been founded on Roman practices. The *£ s. d.* of accounts are the initials of *libræ*, *solidi*, and *denarii*—Latin terms applied to the metals used as media of exchange, whether by weight or coinage. There were in Rome government banks, private banks, and loan banks. A prevalent prejudice against receiving interest for money lent caused the private bankers to be but little esteemed; but the government banks were managed by men of high position. Loan banks lent money on land and other property, for a certain term, without interest.

Constantine rebuilt Byzantium A.D. 330, named the city after himself, and made it the seat of his power; but the Eternal City could not be thus easily stripped of its metropolitan rank. The removal of the capital led ere long to the division of the Roman world into the Eastern and Western Empires. Constantinople became the centre of a power Greek in character, Roman in name.

We have seen how, after the conquest of Carthage, Greece, Egypt, and the East, Rome was flooded with ill-gotten wealth. The citizens made display the chief aim of existence; rank became mere tinsel, and outward prosperity a hollow mask. At length southern and western Europe were overrun by tribes of barbarians\* who trampled in the dust the power of Rome. The downfall of the Western Empire marks an epoch in political and commercial history. The relation between the different nations entirely changed at this period. It is the historian's line of demarcation between ancient history and that of the Middle Ages.

\* *Distinctions of Tribes which devastated the Western Roman Empire.* Appendix C.



*PART II.—ETRURIA.*

ETRURIA (the modern Tuscany), a great and civilised nation before the building of Rome, is an example of a powerful country whose literature is lost, and whose language is extinct, and almost undecipherable. Its history, like that of Carthage, can therefore be gleaned only from references in the writings of its foes; and its refinement, from its buried works of art.

By the Romans its people were called Etruscans; by the Greeks, Tyrrhenians. Amongst themselves they went by the name of *Rasānæ*. The accounts of their origin are purely speculative, for their language, the surest guide in such inquiries, cannot be employed to help research. There are a few indications of Asiatic origin; mingled, however, with evidences of a mixture of races, in which the Umbrian appears predominant.

In the infancy of Rome the Etruscans had extended their power from the base of the Alps to the Gulf of Taranto; and, when pressed back by hostile neighbours, they were still a flourishing and powerful people within Etruria proper. After a long struggle for their independence, they were compelled to yield to the rising power of Rome. In course of time they were enfranchised, when they soon dropped their language, and merged their nationality in the common character of Roman citizens.

Etruria was remarkable for its fertility. The soil yielded rich harvests of corn, wine, oil, and flax. Its maritime position gave the people the command of a great sweep of the Mediterranean, called after them the Tyrrhene Sea. The natural resources of the country provided in abundance materials for ship-building, the Apennines having their slopes clothed with timber, and their flax furnishing textures for sails. These advantages made commerce a natural development of Etruscan life. The inhabitants regarded themselves as exclusive masters of the Mediterranean, and were hostile to every nation disputing with them the rights

of trade in its waters. The Greek colonists in Sicily, united under command of Hiero, tyrant or ruler of Syracuse, met the Etruscan fleet in battle, and defeated it, 464 B.C. Enmities thus aroused being not lightly appeased, the Etruscans for a century afterwards repeatedly made war against the Syracusans and other Sicilian Greeks. The Etruscans enriched themselves by husbandry and cattle-rearing, as well as by their piracy and trade. Corn was sent to Rome almost as soon as that city was founded. The people grew luxurious. They became fond of high living and sumptuous entertainments, drank out of silver cups, and wore costly embroidered garments.

The Roman satirists called them corpulent gluttons, and Virgil charged them with being addicted to all kinds of sensual pleasures. Nevertheless, the Romans borrowed many of their institutions, and sent the young nobility to them for instruction. Art and science were cultivated, and religion mingled in all affairs, domestic and national. Their mythology comprised the two classes of the Shrouded Deities, never revealing themselves to mankind, and the Subject Gods of a lower rank. The chief ports were Pisa, Populonium, Cære, Hadria on the coast south of the Po, and Spina. To these ports were brought frankincense for use in sacrifice, ivory, and the precious metals for manufactures. The Etruscans were noted for all kinds of work in silver, gold, and other metals. Their pottery was in request in every part of Italy. The exquisite vases, found in so many of their tombs, appear, however, to have been the work of Greek colonists. The Etruscans, skilled in painting, sculpture, and architecture, were employed upon Roman buildings, and taught the Romans the use of the arch. The still extant figures of the She-Wolf and of the Orator are often regarded as masterpieces of bronze statuary, though some critics refer these works to Greek artists. Etruscan candelabra, of the same material, were prized by the Athenians as early as the age of Pericles.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT COMMERCE.

By careful examination and comparison of the facts of history, we arrive at certain conclusions relative to the rise, development, and limits of the commerce of the Oriental-Phœnician and the Græco-Roman world, and are enabled thence to infer how far ancient principles and influences have moulded modern progress and civilisation. Commerce, whether regarded as rising from the well-watered regions of Cathay, from the plains of Shinar, or from the Delta of the Nile, pursued its beneficent course westward until it rested and centred in Rome. Bactria, the medium of communication between the remote East and Chaldea, appears in the earliest records of commercial intercourse as already enriched by the treasures of India and China in transit to the more magnificent empires of Assyria and Babylon.

The varied means of industrial intercourse—by river-valley, overland, maritime, and oceanic—were primarily utilised by the Phœnicians, whose expeditions, radiating to all the cardinal points, made their nation the first possessors of universal commerce as well as of the chief sites of trade and industry. Once familiar with the open sea, the Phœnician traffic took advantage of the monsoons for the Indian voyage, skimmed the Mediterranean, and brought the arts of trade to the Greeks.

Land and river traffic, the prevailing, although expensive mode of transport in Jewish and other hands, soon fell comparatively into disuse, except in so far as they formed links in the chain of more extensive maritime commerce.

During the Græco-Roman period Carthage appeared,

inheriting both the virtues and the vices of its Phœnician parentage. Its great opportunity came when the supremacy of Phœnicia ceased after the Persian war. In like manner, its decline is to be dated from the establishment of Alexandria as its rival. There seems to have been in the mind of Alexander the project of a universal commercial empire, of which he himself should be the chief potentate, Greece the centre, Babylon the grand emporium, and the deltas of the Indus and the Nile the outlets. It would be vain to speculate upon the merits of a scheme, the realisation of which might have altered the world's destiny, but which was dependent primarily upon unvarying military success, and even more upon a life early and abruptly cut off. An integral part of Phœnician, Greek, and Carthaginian commerce was their systematised intercourse, which extended the number of civilised cities, or the depots of trade, and formed the models of modern colonisation. Eventually the whole of this trade was absorbed by Rome, whose disdain of peaceful industry was not wholly counteracted by the excellence of the imperial roads, and other facilities for transport. With the disruption of the Western Empire Oriental trade was confined to Asia, whilst in Europe, during the migrations of the Germanic races, Byzantium alone retained some degree of vitality, and with it the germs of a new growth.

The commercial world of the ancients, at the time of its greatest extension, was but an irregular zone between  $10^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  N. lat. Southern Europe was cut off from the unknown North by the Alps and their connected chains, between which and the deeply indented coast of the Mediterranean, was a range of territory so narrow and confined that the climate and resources were nearly similar throughout, thus diminishing the necessity for interchange. Beyond these bounds tin and yellow amber were nearly the only commodities procured from the outer barbarians, whose knowledge of the resources of their country did not exceed that

of the means of supplying their mere animal wants, or of the existence of minerals found near the surface; and whose notions of luxury were confined to glass beads and trinkets. The list of the staples of exchange was not less circumscribed than was the geographical area from which they were drawn. Half the food substances of the moderns were unknown. Flesh, fish, milk, cheese, honey, bread, vegetables, oil, and wine, exhausted the choice of food of the Greeks and Romans. Most of these commodities were too bulky and perishable for the freighting of long caravan journeys, and the ships of the time were too small to carry such cargoes with profit, unless for short voyages. Hence we cannot conceive of any extensive commerce springing up except in union with Asia. Oriental productions were the luxuries of Europe. The Asiatics, though passive and incurious, were always ready to accept the profit brought to them. When this union was severed, commerce disappeared from Europe.

By the concurrent practice of all the nations of antiquity religion and trade were made mutually subservient. The name of every great commercial centre, from the far East westwards, such as Balkh, Babylon, Baalbek, Tyre, Memphis, Alexandria, Carthage, Athens, Rome, is associated with celebrated temples, and less important depots were severally presided over by their tutelary deities. Many devotees were thus, by the profits of business, enabled to perform pilgrimages which otherwise would have been quite out of their power; while traders on the same route were continually reminded of higher duties than buying and selling. So also fairs, attracting merchants from all quarters, were held in connection with sacred festivals. The Isthmian and Olympian Games were of this character. Our modern system of banking was foreshadowed and initiated by the money-changers, who made the temples of old their business resorts.

A history in common appertains to the decay of the great

commercial cities of antiquity. In their infancy, trade, pursued with enterprise and diligence, brought wealth to the state, and the people acquired a taste for luxury and display. An age of indulgence and splendour set in. The desire for wealth grew with its possession. "Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit." A spirit of aggrandisement was evoked, and for a time *might* carried all before it. A false sense of security resulted from military success, and licentious profusion took the place of early simplicity. Nineveh, Babylon, Palmyra, Tyre, Meroë, Memphis, Thebes, Alexandria, Carthage, Athens, Corinth, Rome, rose to an extraordinary pitch of greatness, and then fell ingloriously.

The proximate cause of the ruin of the great cities was conquest. They dragged down with them in their fall many dependent cities, by the diversion of trade from its accustomed routes, or by its local annihilation. There is not left one town worthy to represent the glories of antiquity—teeming populations and wealth have alike disappeared. Nature has reclaimed the regions where human life was once so active. The garden has again become a wilderness. The sands of the desert cover the ruins of the capitals of once powerful empires. Over the gigantic monuments which their genius reared the sea now rolls, and pestilent marshes occupy the places where formerly waved the golden grain of their harvest-fields. The contrast between these cities in their prosperity and their desolation is so striking, that we naturally search for the hidden agents of change—for conquest was only an outward cause—so long working to effect the mighty revolution.

Commerce, in itself, had no destructive tendency, nor could wealth, the fruit of commerce, be charged with their ruin. Decline, on the contrary, followed the loss of wealth. The possession of wealth did not necessitate its misuse, for it might as readily have been consecrated to great and noble purposes as desecrated by profusion and vice.

More than once these cities fell a prey to force, yet their vitality remained undestroyed, and they rose again to wealth and consideration, after having been razed to the ground. Babylon was successively conquered by the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. Egyptian commerce survived the Persian conquest.

Let us not, then, blame commerce and opulence for results which arose from ill-directed human passions. Conquest was the proximate, not the ultimate, cause of the ruin of the great cities and empires of antiquity. Although their downfall was sometimes accelerated by the ambition or incapacity of rulers, yet the germs of decay were to be found in the sloth, self-indulgence, and venality exhibited long before among all classes of the community. In the days of old, as now, nations were impoverished or flourishing in the ratio of their obedience to moral law.

Two of the main economic errors of the ancients were the prevalence of slavery and the employment of mercenaries for defence. A consequence of the second error was the decrease of patriotism and the loss of nationality. Commerce began to forsake its sites as fast as industry and morality fled, and Greece and Carthage were prepared for submission long ere they fell before the Roman legions.

Mere physical courage did not fail, for its practice was ever called for in mercantile pursuits, and was stimulated by having property to lose. Tyre withstood Nebuchadnezzar for thirteen years, and New Tyre withstood Alexander for seven months, while Rome was more than a century in finally subduing Carthage. *It was the inspiration of loyalty that was lacking.* Rome, whose wealth was not commercial, but extorted by force from its producers, was impoverished without remedy when that force no longer existed, and succumbed with ignominy to barbarian hordes whom the army in its prime would have easily repulsed. So utter was the ruin that the neighbourhood of the imperial city has since remained a scene of desolation, almost as

dreary as the valley of the Jordan, and as silent as the Sahara, while the blight of the evil air, "malaria," or fever scourge, has been a perennial warning to settlers.

The disturbances of traffic by war led to the opening of new routes of trade, which were chiefly maritime. Thus the destruction of Tyre sent trade to Alexandria, Indian commodities coming by way of the Red Sea. The policy of the conquerors also sometimes crippled, diverted, or destroyed trade, as when the Persians became masters of Babylon. Alternations of industry and war, of production and destruction, being unfavourable to commerce, the caravans decreased in number, or sought new routes, and the merchant cities declined. When the means of subsistence were thus lessened or cut off, the population diminished, and fertile territories, once wrested, foot by foot, by human labour from the barren desert, resumed their sterility.

The transformations brought about respectively by industry and neglect are the most startling and instructive contrasts amongst the facts bequeathed by antiquity. Nineveh, Babylon, Palmyra, sprang into existence and reached such a pitch of grandeur that two thousand years have not sufficed to obliterate their ruins. Alexandria leapt into commercial life, conceived and royally constructed by one and the same mind. Although commerce has revived, there has never been a tendency, with the partial exception of Alexandria, to make the ruined sites of antiquity again its emporiums. Are we, then, to conclude that commerce must pass through the stages of birth, maturity, and decay? Will modern commerce thus die out, and British pre-eminence, scarce a century old, become extinct? These problems, called forth by the phenomena of the ancient world, can only be solved by induction from the experience of later ages.

One vital lesson stands out in bold relief upon the rolls of ancient history, and is repeated through all time. It is that human well-being is founded primarily upon labour, and is increased just in proportion as skill and intelligence



devise new means of making that labour productive. Where industry was applied cities were reared, and the deserts around, transformed into green oases, furnished enough and to spare for the needs of commerce. Then, as now, where there were no canals for irrigation, no reservoirs to receive the water from the melting of the snows on the table-lands, the failure of the rains brought to the pastoral people famine, intensified by want of forage for their cattle; pestilence followed in its wake, until the calmness of death and depopulation settled down upon a "God-forsaken country." Then, as now, the Almighty was profanely charged with singling out each country in turn for the visitation of his wrath. Another lesson from the Past is that no nation can maintain its greatness, or escape decay and death, if the springs of life become poisoned by frivolity and vice. We learn from "the land of the cypress and myrtle" that gifts of intellect and taste cannot avert ruin when moral earnestness has been lost; from "Imperial Rome" that no genius for war or government, no vastness of empire or pomp of state, can sustain the social life of a people abandoned to lawless vice.

## PART II.

### MEDIÆVAL COMMERCE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

##### *I.—THE BYZANTINE OR EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE.*

WHEN Byzantium became the capital of the Eastern Empire, Constantine lavished enormous sums in the effort to make it equal the glories of Rome. In imitation of the Seven Hills of the Eternal City, its boundaries were enlarged, so as to include five hills besides the two already embraced. The natural grandeur of the site, however, could not be improved by art. The Bosphorus is a deep, tideless water, and its harbour, the Golden Horn, is eminently fitted for ships of all sizes. Gibbon thus delineates the natural advantages enjoyed by Constantinople as a mart of exchange :—

“When the gates of the Hellespont and Bosphorus were shut, the capital still enjoyed within its spacious enclosure every production which could supply the wants or gratify the luxury of its numerous inhabitants.

“The sea-coast of Thrace and Bithynia, which languish under the weight of Turkish oppression, still exhibit a rich prospect of vineyards, of gardens, and of plentiful harvests, and the Propontis has ever been renowned for a plentiful store of the most exquisite fish, that are taken in their stated seasons without skill and almost without labour ; but

when the passages of the straits were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the North and South, of the Euxine and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the forests of Germany or Scythia, as far as the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes ; whatever was manufactured by the skill of Europe or Asia ; the corn of Egypt, and the gems and spices of the furthest India, were brought by the varying winds to the port of Constantinople, which for many ages attracted the commerce of the ancient world."

The Byzantine empire, after the destruction of Rome, bridged over the interval between the old and the new civilisations. Constantinople, safe from the hordes which had darkened Europe, retained many of the traditions of Rome, and kept up a commercial intercourse with the countries of the East, and mainly by her instrumentality the restoration of art and science was effected.

In the reign of Justinian (527—565) industry and commerce received from a foreign source an impulse, the influence of which has spread more and more in succeeding ages. This was the introduction of the silkworm. For many centuries silk was thought to be a vegetable down, like cotton, its true origin having been jealously concealed from the merchants. Two missionaries returning from China concealed in a cane some silkworms' eggs, which they brought to Constantinople. Worms from these eggs were distributed throughout the Byzantine empire. Cyprus and Sicily soon produced great numbers, and the Peloponnesus became known as the Morea from the white mulberry trees which began to be abundantly cultivated.

Byzantine trade with India was at first carried on through Egypt, the Persians intercepting the direct overland traffic, until the Euphrates valley was once more opened to caravans. Syria and Mesopotamia were subdued by the Caliph Omar, who built the town of Bassora ; yet few goods reached Constantinople, for the empire was nearly always at war with the

Arabs. When the Moslems took Alexandria, the communication by way of Egypt was cut off, as the Christian states would enter into no dealings with the infidels. Such, however, was the desire for Indian commodities, that a route was opened by way of the Greek settlements on the Black Sea and Independent Tartary ; and for two hundred years the products of India and China reached Constantinople almost exclusively by this circuitous course. Each generation improved the commerce of the Mediterranean coasts, and an active trade arose between the Greek empire and Spain, Africa, and the Republics of Italy. Byzantine commerce during Justinian's reign comprised Egyptian silks and half-silks, raw silks, linen, and flax ; sweet wines and fruits—especially dates and figs—sugar, cassia, and drugs ; Indian spices, cloves, nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, galanga root, and large quantities of pepper. Precious stones, perfumes, and horses also came from India. Silver was imported by the Genoese, probably from Spain ; while the Pisanese introduced woollen stuffs, scarlet, and fustian. Few of the exports were native produce, for Constantinople was an emporium rather than a manufacturing city. Grecian velvets, other silk stuffs, cotton cloths, linen, and wool ; nuts, saffron, oil, timber, pitch, honey ; gold, silver, mercury, copper, iron, tin, lead, weapons, and slaves are enumerated. Restrictive laws led to an illicit trade in some varieties of goods, of which purple state-robcs were an example, their export being prohibited. The commercial vigour of the ancient Greeks never distinguished their Byzantine posterity.

The land trade of Constantinople was carried on with no great activity. The Avars, a nation of conquerors inhabiting the provinces of the Danube, from Upper Hungary to the Inn, had the management of the Western land traffic. They were the carriers of goods, some of which eventually reached the most northern kingdoms of Europe, but by the middle of the ninth century their name was extinct ; the bearers of it,

of Asiatic or Turkish origin, being treated as barbarous intruders both by the Germans on the west and the Slavonians on the east, are said to have been wholly exterminated. There is an old Russian proverb to the effect, "They are gone like the Avars, man and child."

For two centuries the Bulgarians carried on the trade between Constantinople and Germany, till disputes arose between them and the Greeks, who were at first defeated in the fierce encounters that ensued; but the Bulgarians were at length subdued by the Emperor Basil, in 1018. The Bulgarian movements, as well as those of the Slavonians of Moravia, were in a great measure determined by those of the Hungarians, who, emigrating into Europe from the back of the Ural mountains in the ninth century, took possession of the plain of the Danube, and established there a kingdom which still preserves in its name (Hungary) and that of its people (Magyars) the memory of its founders. The Ungrians made Semlin in Hungary the depot of the international transport trade. They took upon themselves the conduct of the traffic throughout, built factories, and established agencies in the capital, where Stephen I., who died in 1038, erected for their encouragement a splendid place of worship. Hungary flourished in every town because of the rich profits of their extensive business as carriers and brokers. This Western land traffic waned, and in the end disappeared, before the rising maritime commerce of Venice, Genoa, and other Italian republics. The commodities which specially distinguished the Western trade consisted of raw produce, manufactures, and works of art; Greek artistic work; olives, saffron, and hazel nuts; oil, liquorice, raw silk, silk and mixed stuffs; purple and priestly robes; gold dust and Eastern spices; pepper, ginger, cloves, nutmegs, galanga root, and anise-seed. Sword belts bound with brass and copper were sent by sea to the West, and in the land traffic Constantinople received overland from Germany Wendish slaves or serfs; from Bohemia and Moravia, weapons of

ancient German manufacture; wooden tools and saddles from the Low Countries; woollen and linen, principally of Friesland make, and metals, from Transylvania and Hungary.

During a part only of this period could Byzantine commerce take the old Chaldean road to India. Obstructed by Persia and by continual contentions with the Arabs, the route through Independent Tartary was made use of. Byzantine commerce both by land and sea at length lost all its importance, and fell almost entirely into the hands of the Italians.

## *II.—LATER MARITIME TRADE.*

THE decay of the Byzantine trade is to be traced in part to the struggle for empire between the Mohammedans and the Greeks. The government of Constantinople could not safely spare vessels of war to convey merchandise across the sea. The neutral states shrewdly took advantage of this condition of things, and the Mediterranean trade quickly passed over to Italy. The vessels of the empire were confined exclusively to the waters of the Black Sea. The policy pursued by the Greeks in commercial affairs aided very much in driving traffic out of their own hands. Justinian increased his revenues by granting monopolies, and by reserving to the state the sale of important articles. As a government can never be so good a trader as an individual, whose fortune depends upon his enterprise, thrift, and skill, Justinian's policy led to the decline both of manufactures and commerce, which every year went farther westwards.

Venetian merchants visited the Levant as early as the ninth century. Nevertheless, during the Dark Ages, but little intercourse took place between the Eastern and Western nations, until the Crusades broke down the wall of separation. At first the Venetians sought permission from

the Byzantine court; but in the time of the First Crusade their services were of so much importance that they were welcomed to Constantinople, obtained the control of the entire Greek navy, entered into alliances with noble families, and became possessors of great property. Such prosperity was not lasting, for it involved the Venetians in the wars of the Greeks. In 1172 the Emperor Manuel Comnenus required them to assist in attacking the king of the Two Sicilies, and upon their hesitating, he treacherously pretended to continue on friendly terms with them till an opportunity occurred of seizing their vessels and cargoes, and imprisoning the owners. Although he afterwards set the merchants at liberty, they never regained their goods, Comnenus delaying the restitution from time to time, and his successors refusing it altogether.

As soon as the Venetians lost influence at the Byzantine court, the merchants of Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi sought commercial intercourse, and the emperor assigned to these traders a portion of Constantinople in which to erect their dwellings, stores, and churches. States which treated each other's vessels as pirates, and were envious of each other's prosperity, could, however, no more agree in that city than in Italy. The Genoese and Pisanese fought, whenever they met, as fiercely as they did at sea and at home. During the time of the Fifth Crusade (1198—1204) domestic contentions placed a usurper on the Byzantine throne. The rightful heir applied for help to the Crusaders, who, in conjunction with the Venetians, took Constantinople in 1203, and made the heir to the throne their creature. Another revolution took place in three months; the usual scenes of pillage and murder ensued, the city was partly destroyed, and Baldwin of Flanders was made emperor. The Venetians re-established themselves in the capital, took possession of the sea-coast, and monopolised the commerce during the time that the city was in the possession of the Crusaders. It was restored

by the Franks to the Greek emperors in 1261, who ruled it till the Turkish conquest.

The Indian trade was carried on by the Venetians, while they held Constantinople, and by the Genoese who succeeded them. More than once, however, a papal interdict denounced all intercourse with the Arabs—except that of war—and prohibited Christians from supplying them with weapons, iron, and timber. This interference on the part of the Church obstructed the direct trade through Egypt, and made it necessary to seek some other route. Tana (*Azof*) and Feodosia (*Kaffa*) were founded as starting-points for a caravan route through Bokhara, Samarcand, and Balkh. Bokhara and Samarcand are parts of the province sometimes known as Western Turkestan, to distinguish it from the Eastern or Chinese province of the same name. Great Bokhara and Mawar-al-Nahr are also names which have been given to it at various times. It corresponds to the Sogdiana and Bactria of the ancients. The only variation from the route that had once before existed, was in the region between the Crimea and the Caspian. The caravans reached the Volga, and the merchandise was sent up the river to Astrakhan, carried overland to the Tanais or Don, and thence down the latter river to Azof. The Pisanese also shared in this trade, having their depots at Kaffa.

The revolution that terminated the Venetian hold upon Constantinople also brought the Græco-Latin empire to an end. Michael Palæologus, the new ruler, had been assisted by the Genoese in ascending the throne, and he rewarded them with privileges which gradually enabled them to drive their rivals, the Venetians and Pisanese, from their vantage, and to dispossess them of the trade, both in the city and the Black Sea. The Genoese, now in the ascendant, signed a commercial treaty with the Khan of Tauris, now the Crimea. The Venetians, regardless of their religious scruples, or of the papal interdict, entered into a similar treaty with the Arabs in order to obtain the produce of



India through Syria and Egypt. The interdict was not removed till 1345; but from this time, till the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the wares of India found their way unimpeded through Egypt to Venice, their chief emporium.

During the hostile rivalry of the Venetians and Genoese for Byzantine trade, many of the German towns, formerly supplied through the Italian marts, found it more advantageous to open direct communication with Constantinople, in order to obtain Indian produce. The Danube, as far as Servia, became the means of transport, and thus in the twelfth century a chain of commercial stations linked the Bosphorus with the German Ocean. Vienna, Ratisbon, Ulm, Augsburg, and Nürnberg were the leading towns in South or High Germany engaged in this through trade.

The Greeks highly valued the trade with Russia, whence were obtained furs, and slaves, grain, dried and salt fish, hides, iron, timber and pitch, honey and wax. Slavonic merchants took the most active part in this commerce, as intermediate agents between the *boyards*, or Russian nobles, and the Greek government. Travelling did not suit the indolent Greeks. They found it easier to apportion a suburb of their city to these traders, and to bribe them into residence, by furnishing them monthly with supplies of bread, fish, meat, wine, and oil, than to take an active part in the trade themselves. By a selfish policy, however, which defeated and ruined the trade, they levied imposts upon goods arriving in Constantinople, and drove away the Russian merchants during the winter, in order that the city might always remain an emporium, and that the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisanese should not become direct customers of the northern traders. The Russians from Novgorod and Tschernigov used to meet at Kiev and repair to Constantinople together; but from the obstacles put in their way, they arranged to meet the Venetians at the mouth of the Dnieper, where Russian

interchange was from this time effected without passing through Constantinople. Fish and grain were the sole Russian commodities which then reached that city. In the thirteenth century sixteen hundred vessels were employed in this fish trade.

Despite the false economy of the Byzantine government, trade had greatly enriched Constantinople. When taken by the Crusaders and Venetians, it was, in the words of Hallam, "decked with the accumulated wealth of ages, and resplendent with the monuments of Roman empire and of Grecian art." The severity of ancient taste, which had existed through nine centuries, was seen gliding into the more various and brilliant combinations of Eastern fancy. In the libraries were gathered the remains of Grecian learning, which the chiefs of the Crusaders were no more able than their soldiery to appreciate. "Four horses, that breathe in the brass of Lysippus, were removed to the square of St. Mark at Venice, and we have to deplore the fate of many pieces of sculpture wantonly destroyed or coined into brass money." Thus the Greeks threw away their noble commerce. Timid and self-indulgent, they declined the labour and risk of national enterprise, and over-reached themselves by endeavouring to wring their profits out of more adventurous races. From the time of the crusades Byzantine commerce ceased to be worthy of mention, and after more than a thousand years of power, A.D. 328—1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the existence of the Greek or Eastern Empire ceased.

## CHAPTER II.

### I.—THE ARABS.

ALTHOUGH their country had been the highway of traffic from time immemorial, the Arabs can scarcely be said to have had a national existence till, as Mohammedans,\* they burst forth from their deserts, and subdued the nations from the Indus to the Pyrenees. Inspired by the precepts of their new religion, they encouraged trade and the arts as works pleasing to God. Ancient writings are full of reference to Arab trade. A company of Midianite merchants going down into Egypt bought Joseph of his brethren. When the Jews despoiled the Midianites, they took golden collars off the camels, as well as ornaments of gold from the merchants. From the prophet Ezekiel we learn that Edom had the control of the trade with Phœnicia, giving emeralds, purple, brodered work, bezoar, and precious stones, for Phœnician wares.

Predatory Arabs infested Egypt, and kept possession of Thebes for several centuries before the time of Sesostris. Gherra, on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, was for ages a commercial link between Babylon and India. Some historians think that Ophir, whence Solomon obtained gold, silver, gems, and sandal-wood, was in south Arabia. The early intercourse of the Phœnicians with India was carried on by caravans across the desert, the Hebrews acting as intermediaries in Syria, and the Arabs in their own land. Herodotus says of Arabia, that it was the only place where frankincense and myrrh were to be found.

\* *Distinctions of the Mohammedan Races.* Appendix D.

Arab commerce in the Middle Ages attained great magnitude. Along the African coast the Arabs planted trading stations communicating with Egypt. They possessed also, for a time, the entire maritime commerce of the Mediterranean. Before the conversion of the 'Arabs to Mohammedanism, they had regarded Mecca as their capital. It afterwards assumed additional importance as a sacred shrine for pilgrimages. The ancient caravan routes were revived. Medina, Kufa, Borsippa, Bassorah, Damascus, Bagdad, Mosul, and Madain, the last-named situated opposite the ancient city of Seleucia, on the Tigris, were also caravan stations, and acquired thereby fame and opulence. The capital of the caliphate, and the centre of the routes traversed by the caravans, was Bagdad, which, in commercial activity, eclipsed its splendid predecessor, Babylon. Pilgrims visited it from Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and the west coast of Africa. Most of them combined traffic with devotion; some were hired as guards; some came as proxies for true believers, who, in lieu of pilgrimage in person, preferred to employ the services of professional pilgrims. Commerce was attracted to every spot where the Arabs settled. When they conquered a state, they appointed a governor and a *cadi* or judge, and established mosques and schools. Highways were constructed, and kept in good condition. Wells were opened along every route which led to the Holy City. Caravanserais, or halting-places for the night, were placed at convenient intervals, landmarks were set up to indicate distances, and posts were established where fresh horses and camels could be obtained. These matters became a part of the state administration. Great commercial advantages arose from the magnitude of the Arab empire, and the policy pursued by its government.

A community of language throughout their possessions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, promoted social intercourse. Traders could journey throughout the whole extent of the Arab empire, certain of a caravanserai, and of being not

only understood but welcomed in every town. Trade was unimpeded by restrictions imposed by rival states.

Their prosperity surpassed that of the ancients, both in its extent and its diffusion. In their dominions commerce was free, for to restrict the trade at any place was to impose a penalty on themselves. They broke up the system of concentrating wealth upon one gorgeous emporium, till it sank under the weight of its voluptuous burden ; they multiplied trade marts, and made their whole dominion a hive of industry.

The social life of the Arabs offered a marked contrast to that of the European nations. While civilisation was barely kept alive in Germany, Gaul, and Britain by the monks, and the inhabitants were in a state of rude poverty, treasures of gold and silver, works of art, and splendid palaces abounded in the cities of the Arabs, thus realising in a great degree the marvels of Arabian fiction. The caliphs patronised letters. Jewish, Persian, Spanish scholars were welcome at their courts. The writings of the Greek philosophers were translated, and eagerly read ; astronomy and chemistry were studied, and it is to the Arabs we owe our numerical system and the science of algebra.

Geographical knowledge was greatly increased by the enterprise of Arab traders. Caravans passed through Tartary into Siberia. Arabs settled in India, where various native princes embraced the Mohammedan faith. Trade extended still farther east, and merchants soon penetrated to the Indian Archipelago and China, and, westward, caravans reached the Niger, fetching thence gold and slaves, and also wild beasts, upon the taming of which the Arabs exercised all their skill. On the east coast of Africa it spread as far as Madagascar. Everywhere arose well-peopled towns and splendid palaces, and by skilful irrigation the land yielded bounteous harvests, which in their turn multiplied commodities for exchange.

The wealthy prided themselves upon the cultivation of

Beautiful gardens, and even the lower classes exhibited taste in producing the refinements of life. Silk stuffs were among the choicest articles of manufacture. A thousand silk tapestries, embroidered with needlework of gold thread, are described as belonging to the Caliph Mostansir. Those tapestries represented the caliphs and heroes of the Arabs whose names and deeds, together with the name of the dynasty to which they belonged, were embroidered by the side of their respective portraits. Besides historical incidents, figures of towns, roads, rivers, and seas were worked upon carpets, in gold, silver, and silk thread of many colours, upon a ground of blue silk. These carpets were very costly; one alone is said to have been worth 22,000 deniers. Yemen, in Arabia, excelled in weaving; and Sana, the chief town of that district, produced dates and flour. The balsams of Mecca were exchanged for the textiles of Persia and India. Coffee was a product of Arabia, and called *kahwah* (pronounced by the Turks *cahveh*), a name derived from its original use, as a stimulant to induce wakefulness.\*

Another result of Arabian commerce was a love of travel. Merchants sent their sons under convoy of the caravans, as a necessary part of education, and made them visit distant cities, in order to obtain instruction from teachers eminent in science and art. A higher degree of civilisation was thus attained than ever before existed. The glories of Bagdad, the capital, especially attracted foreigners and strangers from all parts of the empire; its visitors equalled in number the pilgrims to Mecca. Princes went there as a completion of their mental culture.

\* It is interesting to trace the growth of this beverage in public favour. Coffee-houses, the first opened, were established at Constantinople in 1552; at Marseilles in 1671; Paris, 1672; Hamburg and Nürnberg, 1696; London, 1652, in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, by Pasqua Posee, at the sign named after his own head. The coffee plant was introduced into Batavia, 1690; Amsterdam, 1710; Surinam, 1718; Hindostan, 1719; Cayenne and Martinique, 1722; and Jamaica, 1732.

Damascus, the chief town of the province of Syria, and one of the oldest cities in the world, was situated on the line of route taken by the pilgrims, and profited from their traffic. Damascus was always celebrated for its cutlery, and particularly for its sword-blades. The beautiful trace-ries wrought upon them gave rise to the term "damascening," as applied to steel; while "damasks," as applied to textile fabrics, indicate a raised pattern, greatly prized. The district of Armenia, and especially Trebizond, on the Black Sea, was famous for purple tapestry. In the bazaars of Teheran, through which city a caravan route led into Tartary, were elegant household furniture, linen, cotton, and camel's hair fabrics, combs, and miscellaneous goods. During the period of Saracen supremacy, the internal trade of Persia had its chief seat at Ispahan, the capital. Textile manufactures of remarkable softness, both in linen and wool, were produced in this city, the linen being as fine as silk, and the wool the produce of a superior breed of sheep, peculiar to the fertile region in which they were bred.

Part of the Aralo-Caspian depression was peopled with traders, who acted as the intermediate merchants between the Russians and the Arabs, the latter supplying linen, silk, and cotton manufactures, in exchange for furs, honey, and wax from the north. The route taken by the traders extended from Khorassan to the mouth of the Volga, diverging thence northward to Kazan, and westward to the Don. Political relations were formed between the Arabs and the Chinese. Three caravan routes connected Bagdad with Canton. Two of these routes were by way of Mongolia, the towns of Independent Tartary being the principal depots; the third passed through Bactria, by way of Balkh and Khotan, both important trading towns. Khotan also received the name of Kiu-sa-tan-na, or "Bosom of the Earth." Its manufactures were numerous, the sciences and arts were assiduously cultivated, and the neighbourhood was strikingly beautiful. A caravan trade extended from Kho-

rassan, through Affghanistan and Bactria, to India, passing four large towns in its route, Nisapur, Meru, Herat, and Balkh. Meru produced textile fabrics, and was the centre of the silk trade. Herat manufactured carpets and sword-blades, and saffron and assafoetida were extensively cultivated. In the midst was a magnificent mosque, while at the foot and at the summit of a hill respectively stood a Christian church, and a temple to the sun for the use of the fire-worshippers. Balkh, from its antiquity, was called the mother of cities. Precious stones were found abundantly in its vicinity. One of its caravan routes led to Moultan.

## II.—THE ARABS IN SPAIN.

SPAIN fell under the Saracen yoke, A.D. 712, at a period when the conquerors were quite as barbarous as and much fiercer than the Visigoths whom they supplanted.

Part of the peninsula was conquered by arms, and other parts were acquired by treaty. The Saracens, as lords of the soil, claimed the sole ownership of every conquered district. Where treaties were entered into, they allowed the inhabitants to retain the rights of property, but jealously excluded them from military service. An Eastern army was distributed over the principal Iberian provinces. Cordova maintained the legion of the caliphs; Seville was occupied by the troops of Emessa; Algeiras and Medina-Sidonia by soldiers from Palestine; Granada by a thousand horsemen chosen from the highest Arab families. The Moors invaded France, A.D. 720, and advanced as far as Tours, near which they were defeated, with terrible slaughter, by Charles Martel, A.D. 732. The Pyrenees proved an obstacle which the Arabs could never permanently surmount. The hardy mountain races would not submit to foreign rule, but, during the four centuries of Moorish domination, waged an offensive as well as defensive warfare.



Moorish history in Spain is the counterpart of that of the great Eastern monarchies. Wisdom and bravery produced in one age fruit which folly and effeminacy forfeited in the next. Under the hand of industry, the land brought forth abundantly; even the most sterile parts were fertilised by means of canals and aqueducts, and commerce aided the growth of wealth. In less than half a century, the mandates of religion and the natural aptitude of the Arab race for civilisation brought rapid advancement, and the ruthless invaders had become a polished people.

The emirs of Spain at first owed allegiance to the caliphs of Damascus. When the dynasty was changed, Abdarrahan, a fugitive from the ancient royal house, arrived in Spain, where he became the sovereign of an independent Moorish kingdom. The wealth which had been paid as tribute to Damascus now remained in Spain. Writers give the annual revenues of Abdarrahan at 10,000 ounces of gold, 10,000 lbs. of silver, 10,000 mules, 1,000 suits of armour, 1,000 helmets, and 1,000 lances. Abdarrahan III. enjoyed still greater revenues. His reign was the zenith of Moorish prosperity. Without bearing heavily upon his subjects, he collected the annual amount of five and a half millions sterling. His grand vizier on one occasion made him an offering which shows the profusion of Moorish riches. It consisted of 400 lbs. of pure gold, 420,000 deniers in silver bars, 400 lbs. of aloe-wood, 500 oz. of amber, 300 oz. of camphor, 30 pieces of embroidered cloth of gold, 10 marten-skin mantles, 100 fur mantles of other kinds, 4 dozen horse-cloths of gold and silk, 4,000 lbs. of wrought Spanish silk, 30 Persian carpets, 800 sets of steel harness, 1,000 shields, 100,000 arrows, 115 Arab steeds, and 20 mules with costly coverings.

Genius and learning followed in the train of prosperity, and influenced the manners and customs of the age. Oriental fancy revelled in the harmony of gold and colour, as seen in the fretwork tracery of the courts of the Alhambra.

Mosques and palaces were numerous in every province; their grandeur and beauty, as exhibited even in their ruins, being objects of wonder to the modern traveller. At Cordova the mosque built by the first king Abdarrahan was 600 feet long by 250 feet wide. The roof was supported by marble columns, 1,093 in number, dividing the central space into twenty-nine compartments. Between 7,000 and 8,000 lamps, consuming daily 20,000 pounds of oil, illuminated this splendid edifice. The Palace of Zehra was even a still greater triumph of architecture. It occupied twenty-five years in building, and cost three and a quarter millions sterling. A whole town was afterwards built out of its remains. Cordova, the Moorish capital, was celebrated for its silversmiths' and filigree work, as well as for Cordovan leather. There were in this city 600 mosques and nearly 1,000 baths; and its industry employed 200,000 families, each occupying a separate dwelling-house. There were 16,000 looms for silk-weaving, and 130,000 weavers in Seville alone: 400,000 inhabitants are reported to have quitted the city when the Moors surrendered. The villages along the course of the Guadalquivir were scarcely a quarter of a league apart. Industry in every form was vigorously pursued. No degradation was felt to attach to labour, nor was it considered servile, as with the Greeks and Romans. The Arabs, as conquerors, were more lenient towards those who submitted to them than were the victors of earlier times, and they have the credit of always maintaining treaties inviolate. Old silver mines, thought to be exhausted, were made to yield afresh by skilful working; and the Spanish mines then furnished the chief supplies of precious metals. Rubies were sought in Beja and Malaga, and coral and pearl fisheries were prosecuted on the coast. In the weaving and dyeing of silk and wool, and in metal-work especially, the Moors attained great eminence. Other produce of their labour and skill was exported to Constantinople, in the form of raw silk, oil, sugar, quicksilver,

bar-iron, dye-stuffs, amber, loadstone, antimony, rock-crystal, sulphur, and myrrh.

Granada enjoyed a prosperity beyond that of the fictitious wealth afterwards due to the discovery of the American gold and silver mines. Valencia too, before the Moriscoes were expelled, was the best cultivated district of the Iberian peninsula.

Long-continued success filled the Moors with false confidence; they grew vain, and lost the fervour of religious zeal. Absorbed in pleasure, or covetous of power, they disregarded the intrepid mountaineers who had never been subdued, and who were destined at last to win back the peninsula from its enervated invaders. During the fifteenth century the Moors were driven from Spain.

### *III.—AFRICA.*

*Barbary.*—Barbary was the Arabic term vaguely used before the Saracen conquest to designate the Mediterranean states of Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean. Part of this region was anciently known as Mauritania. The Saracens from Egypt overran these territories for a distance of 2,000 miles, and governed them by a viceroy from Damascus. The breaking up of the first caliphate induced the Barbary Arabs to imitate the invaders of Spain, and establish an independent sovereignty, under the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. Kirwan, the capital, founded in 670, and situated twelve miles south of Tunis, was the residence of the viceroy. Though now a town but little known, it was then the nucleus from which radiated caravan routes to the east, west, and south. In the heart of the city was a grand mosque, 250 yards long by 150 broad. It was surmounted by a white marble cupola, supported upon 32 columns of the same costly material, while 414 stone pillars formed a portion of the general structure. From this centre led splendid streets, through which diverged a con-

tinual trade to the seven gates of the city. The street to the Spring Gate and that to the Tunis Gate were lined on each side for a length of over two miles with shops displaying the produce of every clime, from the distant Urals and from the still more remote empire of China. Many flourishing towns were within easy reach of Kirwan, each boasting its marble palace and its market-place. Bakkadah was noted as the only town where palm wine was sold, and Kafsah numbered in its environs as many as two hundred castles. Sabrah, in the line of the grain trade, was connected with the capital by means of a long wall. Several busy harbours lay near Sabrah, as famous for their manufacturing industry as for their maritime trade. Susah wove a transparent tissue so exceedingly fine that it was designated "woven wind." Mahadah and Safakas cultivated the white mulberry and reared silkworms. Tarabolos was situated near a saline plain, from which the inhabitants obtained large supplies of salt. Every port on the coast carried on a vigorous trade, both inland and marine, the latter chiefly with Sicily and Spain, while caravans kept them all in connection with the capital.

The fruitful region of ancient Mauritania, now an arid strip of desert, corresponding to Morocco, Fez, and Western Algeria, boasted numberless castles and villages, and was intersected by a network of aqueducts for irrigation. Nature not more benign then than now, rewarded industry and skill with sustenance and comfort for a thousand inhabitants, wherever water was supplied, for every ten who now exist there half famished. Such advantages attracted inhabitants from Arabia, as well as many of the Moors from Spain, who together founded the city of Fez in the eighth century. Fez became eminent for its manufactures, especially that of Fez caps, still worn by the Turks. Besides its looms and dye-works, it fabricated silk and gold thread, and possessed smelting furnaces and manufactories of soap. The fertile soil produced grain, dates, grapes, and olives.

Rich meadow-lands fed fine herds of horses, goats, camels, asses, and flocks of sheep. Iron, copper, and antimony held the chief place among its mineral produce. Commerce was carried on with Mecca by caravans, and with the Levant, Sicily, and Spain by the feluccas or Arab vessels. Central Africa (Soudan, Nigritia, or Negroland) was visited for black slaves, gold dust, ivory, and feathers, for which Segel-Messa was made the emporium. From Segel-Messa, which was also a manufacturing town, caravans struck off east and west to Egypt and the Niger. So important was this commerce, that the Arabs cut through a mountain pass fourteen leagues in length, in order to facilitate the traffic.

Egypt was overrun by the troops of Amrou, general of the fierce caliph Omar, to whom is attributed the order to burn the library of Alexandria, upon the capture in 640 of that city, under the plea that if the books agreed with the Koran they were needless, and if otherwise they were baneful. By this wanton act the baths of Alexandria, it is said, were supplied with fuel for half a year. Alexandria retained its rank as a great commercial city for a thousand years; and survived many alternations of fortune. It was the chief port for the Barbary fleet of the Venetians, and was their resource, in opposition to the papal interdict against intercourse with the infidels, when they lost their standing at the Byzantine court in 1261. It retained a degree of importance, as a channel whereby Indian produce, through Egypt, reached Venice, until the new route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, led to the desertion of the ancient pathways of trade.

Under Arab rule, the commerce of Egypt rose to a high degree of prosperity. Syene was the emporium of the caravan trade. Temnis and Damietta stood nearly on an equality as the principal industrial towns. Caravans going to the East met at Fostat, then the capital of Egypt. Many advantages resulted to the town from this arrangement, and it became the centre of Oriental riches and

splendour until the twelfth century (A.D. 1167), when it was burnt to the ground. The city of Cairo was founded by the Saracens.

#### IV.—SICILY.

FROM A.D. 832 to 1090, the Arabs held possession of the delightful island of Sicily, where winter is as delicious as spring, and summer is tempered by the sea-breezes. As conquerors, they conciliated the Sicilians, and added to the native productions cotton and sugar from Egypt, and manna from Persia. Immense crops of corn, especially wheat, had made Sicily the granary of the ancient world. Vines, olives, and many kinds of fruits abounded; its minerals were also rich and varied. Sicilian embroidered works and tissues were highly esteemed, and were, it is said, always worn at the coronation of the German emperors.

Everything connected with the Arab system of trade indicates a highly advanced and noble-minded race. Their commercial laws, even when violating the principles of political economy, were framed in a spirit of humanity. They regulated the price of the necessities of life in what they thought the interest of the poorer classes, so that the burdens of these should be light; and they forbade the over-lading of sea-going vessels, so that merchants eager for profit should not freight their ships at the risk of seamen's lives.

The maritime commerce of the Arabs was extensive, yet insignificant compared with their caravan trade. Travelling by sea was a task for which their previous history had not prepared them. Considering, however, the poor craft to which they entrusted their lives and goods, the extent of their maritime commerce may well excite our astonishment. Eastward they started from Bassora for Muscat, where they had before them the south-east coast of Africa on the one hand, and India on the other; both of which

regions they visited, for the purposes of trade. Nearly every place now existing on the east coast of Africa had an Arab origin. Gold-dust, ostrich and peacock feathers, leopards' skins, elephants' tusks, amber, and tortoise-shell, were brought to these marts or depots by the inhabitants of the interior. Similar stations were established on the Malabar coast of India, whence they pushed their trade to still more distant parts—the Maldiv Islands, Ceylon, Sumatra, Farther India, and the Nicobar Islands. The Arab merchants were welcomed in China on their first arrival, in 787, and although the Chinese imposed upon them strange modes of selling the goods, yet the founding of agencies was permitted, the traders were exempted from fiscal burdens, and justice was permitted to be administered by their own judges. Few ships, however, ventured on a voyage so full of risk as that to the distant seas of China. When the merchandise of India was diverted to Portugal, the Arabs, as agents and interpreters between the Portuguese and Hindoos, regained much of the importance they lost as active merchants. In these voyages they guided their course by a piece of floating wood, furnished with a needle, which had the curious property, under all circumstances, of pointing northward, an instrument which they most probably adopted from the Chinese, who still use it in their merchant craft. An improved form, under the name of the mariner's compass, has given confidence to seamen, has encouraged commerce, and, more than any one discovery besides, has aided geographical research.

## CHAPTER III.

### COMMERCE OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

#### *VENICE.*

VENETIA, on the mainland of Italy, had for many generations been a flourishing province of the Roman empire, when Attila, king of the Huns, with his fierce followers drove the inhabitants from their homes, to seek shelter in the lagunes at the head of the Adriatic Sea. These lagunes, about four miles in breadth, lay within a long, narrow, insular belt of sand, having several openings to the sea, and were so shallow that a considerable part of their bed was laid bare at every ebb-tide. The difference between the old and the new habitations of the people was as great as can be conceived. The generous Italian soil, which had lavishly supplied them with oil and honey and wine, and whose meadows had given sustenance to fine breeds of cattle, was exchanged for flats of mud and sand—the deposits of the southern Alpine streams. Little of the ground was capable of producing more than a stunted vegetation, and its possession was disputed by sea-fowl. Upon so unpromising a foundation the Venetians built their commercial greatness. Their natural resources were salt, in exhaustless quantities, from the lagunes, and equally unlimited supplies of fish from the sea. These were their earliest articles of trade, and they obtained in exchange from the neighbouring shores greater variety of food, articles of clothing, and timber for their galleys. To such a race, life on the water was as natural as that on land, and they became expert and daring sailors. Their obscure position caused them to be overlooked while the Goths were para-



mount, and each succeeding age their vessels increased in number and in size. With their growth in power and wealth, the Venetians repossessed themselves of their ancient territories.

The foundation of Venice was laid in 452, ere Genoa and Pisa had entered upon mercantile pursuits. Commerce must have made considerable progress before the end of the fifth century, when the Venetians are referred to in history. In the latter part of the seventh century their government assumed the form of a republic, citizenship in which was easily obtainable. It was not, however, till the time of the Saracens that Venice attained its greatest power, ruling territories on the mainland of nearly 20,000 square miles in area. Their ships made them the chief carriers of Europe, and they were called upon to convey the Crusaders to the Holy Land. Venice was aggrandised by this traffic, not only getting rich freightage from passengers, but bringing costly cargoes home from the East: her merchants, too, were ever ready to take possession of trading stations, wrested from the infidels by the soldiers of the Cross, and even to trade with the Saracens. Venetian commerce attained its greatest extent when a great armament, starting in 1204 for the recovery of Jerusalem, took advantage of factions in Constantinople, and turned out of its route to seize that city. Blind old Dandolo, the Doge of Venice, headed this enterprise, in which a French contingent had been persuaded to take part. In the division of the spoil the Venetians looked chiefly to themselves. Henry Dandolo took the curious title, accurately descriptive of the Venetians' share, of "Lord of Three-eighths of the Roman Empire." They also made bargains with the needy Crusaders, and thus increased their share of the capital and its provinces. In this way they became possessed of the Peloponnesus, Cyprus, Candia, and the Ionian Islands—places which they long retained.

The revolution brought about by the Genoese and Greeks

in 1261 led to the banishment of the Venetians from Constantinople and the Black Sea. Venice now turned her attention to Alexandria, with which port so profitable a trade was carried on that the merchants were able to disarm ecclesiastical threatenings by large bribes, and yet to enrich themselves. A few years later the Venetians asserted their pre-eminence over the Genoese in a great naval battle, and once more opened to themselves the trade with the Black Sea. The fruits of this victory were again lost, for the Turks took Constantinople, and deadened at once every form of industry and enterprise. The Venetians were still left supreme in the Mediterranean. Alexandria, the rendezvous of their Barbary fleet, received olive-oil, fruits both fresh and dried, and honey; cloths, velvet, and furs; copper, lead, vermillion, and quicksilver; giving in return the products of Africa and Asia. From Dalmatia, which under Doge Orseolo II. (997) became a possession of Venice, were obtained timber, wines, oil, flax, hemp, grain, and dried fruit; fat cattle, wool, and furs; lead and quicksilver; and finally, slaves. Orseolo II. gave a new impulse to navigation. He formed trade relations with distant parts, farmed out the customs, and obtained the abolition of inland duties in Germany.

Commerce is so identified with the history of this aristocratic republic, that an account of its government throws light upon its trade and advancement. There were, at the end of the fourteenth century, 1,000 nobles—a number which subsequently increased to 1,500—who grew so haughty that the saying went round on the birth of a son, “A lord is born into the world.” At the head of the government was the Doge, and under him six lords or councillors (*signoria*). A senate, often chosen from the citizens, formed a permanent council, and under them three inquisitors completed the legislative and executive power. A powerful navy was formed for defence, for war, and for colonisation. Industry was encouraged, so that the city at

length prospered as much from manufactures as from commerce. A quarter of a million of people crowded its thoroughfares. The mud hovels built at first were transformed into marble palaces, and the few poor shrinking fishermen hiding for their lives became the wealthiest people in Europe ; celebrated for their treasures of art, the perfection of their manufactures, their foreign possessions, and the vastness of their commerce. Hotels arose for the accommodation of strangers, and the boundaries expanded to meet the wants of the growing population. Water-highways, skimmed by gay gondolas and lined with princely residences, intersected the city. The flags of every nation waved at the quays, and the merchants who met on the Rialto offered enormous rents for the smallest vacant counter. The first bank guaranteed by a state was an institution founded in this "City of Waters," in 1157. Pope Innocent IV. made use of it to pay 25,000 silver marks to a Frankfort burgher. Venice coined large amounts of money for its trade, and for that purpose received at its mint gold and silver bars from various countries.

In the fourteenth century Venice had 3,000 merchantmen manned by 25,000 sailors. A tenth part of these were ships exceeding 700 tons burden. There were besides 45 war-galleys manned by 11,000 hands ; and 10,000 workmen, as well as 36,000 seamen, were employed in the arsenals. The largest of the war-galleys was called the *Bucentaur* ; it was a state vessel of the most gorgeous description. Every year the Doge of Venice, seated upon a magnificent throne surmounted by a regal canopy, dropped from this vessel a ring into the Adriatic, to symbolise the fact that land and sea were united under the Venetian flag. This ceremony commemorated the victory gained over the fleet of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1177, when the Venetians obliged him to sue for peace. Ascension Day was selected for its celebration, and the *Bucentaur*, glorious with new scarlet and gold, its deck and seats inlaid with costly woods,

and rowed with long banks of burnished oars, for many years bore the Doge to plight his troth with the words, "We espouse thee, O Sea! in token of true and eternal sovereignty."

The merchant fleet of Venice was divided into companies sailing together according to their trade. Their routes, and the days for departure and return, their size, armament, crew, and amount of cargo, were all defined. In those times the seas were as much infested with pirates as the deserts with robbers; each squadron therefore hired a convoy of war-galleys for its protection on the voyage. There were six or seven such squadrons in regular employment. The argosies of Cyprus and Egypt, and the vessels engaged in the Barbary and Syrian commerce, concentrated their traffic chiefly at Alexandria and Cairo.

The so-called Armenian fleet proceeded to Constantinople and the Euxine, visiting Kaffa and the Gulf of Alexandretta. A Catalonian fleet traded with Spain and Portugal, and another with France; while the most famous of all, the Flanders galleys, connected the seaports of France, England, and Holland with the great commercial city of Bruges.

The internal traffic with Germany and Italy was encouraged with equal care, oriental produce arriving from Constantinople and Egypt, and many other commodities being distributed, at first by way of Carinthia, and afterwards of the Tyrol. Germans, Hungarians, and Bohemians conducted this distribution. In Venice a bonded warehouse (*fondaco dei tedeschi*), or custom-house, was accorded to the Germans, where they were allowed to offer their wares for sale, though only to Venetian dealers. Similar privileges were granted to the Armenians, Moors, and Turks, but not to the Greeks, against whom a strong animosity prevailed.

From a state paper of the Doge Moncenigo, we learn some particulars of the inland trade with Italy. All the towns of Lombardy were active buyers of Eastern commo-

dities and Venetian manufactures, but Florence was the best customer. Ten million sequins (zechins) were thus annually brought into circulation. Addressing the Venetians, the Doge Moncenigo warily dissuades them from war, by describing the value of their trade. "Ye are the channel," he says, "through which all riches flow. Ye provide for the whole world. Everywhere men have a common concern in our welfare, and gold from every source flows hither. Through peace, our noble city has yearly 10,000,000 ducats employed as mercantile capital in different parts of the world; the annual profit of our traders amounts to 4,000,000 ducats. Our housing is valued at 7,000,000 ducats, its rental at 500,000; 3,000 merchant ships carry on our trade; 43 galleys, and 300 smaller vessels, manned by 10,000 sailors, secure our naval power; our mint has coined 1,000,000 ducats within the year. From the Milanese dominions alone we draw 1,000,000 ducats in coin, and the value of 900,000 more in clothes; our profit upon this traffic may be reckoned at 600,000 ducats. Proceeding as you have done, you will become masters of all the gold in Christendom; but war, and especially unjust war, will infallibly lead to ruin."

It was not until 1272 that the citizens generally were permitted to become merchants on their own account. Foreign trade till then had been the sole prerogative of the nobles. Now, however, permission was given for voyages to Marseilles, Montpellier, and Aigues-Mortes, for the disposal of Venetian goods. Venetian commerce was very soon greatly enlarged by the enterprise of the citizens. Wool was brought by the Flanders galleys, and made into black cloth for inland trade, and into scarlet textures for the Levant. This branch of industry was protected by the prohibition of French and Flemish cloth, when the superior cheapness of the last threatened to undersell the home produce. Manufactures of linen, cotton, and camels' hair employed many of the inhabitants. Silk-weavers, banished from

their native city of Lucca for political reasons, found refuge in Venice, and repaid their welcome by introducing an important branch of industry. Charlemagne usually wore a Venetian robe, and his courtiers were filled with wonder at the richness of the fabrics brought by the merchants of Venice to the mart of Pavia.

The ancient industries of preparing salt and curing fish were never disregarded. The Adriatic sands supplied material adapted for a glass of rare beauty and value, of which mirrors and other articles of Venetian manufacture were made. Venetian goldsmiths' work was universally famed. Brass and iron foundries prepared the raw material for the armourers, whose weapons, helmets, and bucklers were unsurpassed for strength and beauty. Ship-building, with a people whose principle it was always to have more ships than any other state, was necessarily a very important branch of industry.

Not satisfied with penetrating to every part already opened to enterprise, the Venetians travelled into regions before unknown, and gave to the world the record of their daring adventures. Maffeo and Nicolo Polo spent fifteen years visiting Egypt, Persia, India, the Khan of Tartary, and the Grand Khan or Emperor of China. Marco Polo, son of Nicolo, as well as Barthema and Joseph Barbaro, extended the knowledge obtained by their precursors in northern Europe and Asia.

It was by such energy of character, directed to commerce and adventure, that the Venetians gained their vast wealth. With the erroneous ideas of their age, however, they were jealous of the prosperity of the other commercial states of Italy, and were not happy till Genoa had been crippled. The same impolitic spirit led their rulers to fetter manufactures with restrictions intended to benefit the citizens at the expense of foreign states, but really injuring both, by preventing competition, and thus lessening the production of wealth. Duties were laid upon almost every article of

home and foreign trade, and state monopolies of salt and other substances were established. The revenues of Venice were raised almost exclusively by these impolitic modes. For awhile the facilities afforded by their splendid mercantile fleet, and by the accumulation of capital, enabled the Venetians to defy competition, but in the end they were scarcely able to hold their own, either in manufactures or commerce. The Flanders argosies were prohibited from returning with money in exchange, but were required to bring merchandise, such as amber\* and English wool, by which the Venetians thought to secure a double profit. It led, however, to the northern nations abandoning the trade with Venice, and dealing elsewhere. Forgetful of the sources of their wealth, the Venetians went so far as to forbid their nobles to trade.

Nevertheless, Venice might have outgrown a bad policy, had not a sudden and unexpected blow laid her commerce prostrate. In 1498 the Venetian ambassador at the court of Lisbon informed his government that Portuguese vessels had arrived in the Tagus, direct from India, after having colonised several places and established factories in that country. The full import of this intelligence was understood at St. Mark's. The golden period of their commerce had passed away. The first thought of the senate was to crush the Portuguese commerce. Finding it impossible to prevail upon the Egyptian sultan to assist them with a fleet in blockading the Indian coasts, they now sued for a treaty of commerce with Portugal, offering to become the sole purchasers of Indian commodities, but were refused. Venice declined, therefore, not through conquest, like the great commercial cities of antiquity, but from faults of industrial policy internally, and from the diversion of trade into new routes, which were the result of increased geographical knowledge.

\* *Curious Letter on Amber—fifth century.* Appendix E.

## GENOA.

GENOA, like most of the Italian cities which rose to commercial eminence in the Middle Ages, had existed as a Roman municipium, and is referred to at the time of the Second Punic War. The city, allied with Pisa, was the first to engage in attacking the Saracen corsairs which beset the Mediterranean. During the Crusades, Genoa vied with Venice, and the profits obtained at this period stimulated commerce and navigation. The republic became rich, and its sailors were so gallant as to be dreaded even by the Venetians. It was at this date that the Genoese made the conquest of Corsica and part of Sardinia, driving out the Saracens, whom they also deprived of Minorca and some Iberian provinces. The climax of Genoese prosperity was reached in 1261, when, for the assistance rendered to the Byzantine government, they were permitted to supplant the Venetians at Constantinople, and to monopolise the commerce of the Euxine. For some years their vessels were freighted with rich cargoes of oriental goods, as well as with the furs and gold of Russia. The Crimean trade was almost exclusively Genoese; as was also the trade with the southern coast of the Euxine, Trebizond and Amisus, or in the Turkish form of the word Sams'un.

Genoa increased its riches by its manufactures of velvet, broadcloth, hosiery, lace, perfumes, and artistic work in gold, silver, and marble. It was the entrepôt for Switzerland, and the outlet for the produce of the fertile districts of Lombardy and Piedmont. Goods were sent inland to Germany, through Nürnberg, and also to Milan, the common depot of Venetians and Genoese. In the height of its power it became covered with palaces, churches, and benevolent institutions, built of pure marble or of porphyry.

Genoese history is bound up with that of Pisa and of Venice. Jealous of the prosperity of other states, Genoa was always at feud. Between 1070 and 1282 four wars



with Pisa occurred, which resulted in the extinction of the power of the Pisanese. The conflict with Venice endured for a period of a hundred and thirty-one years. In 1351 the indecisive battle of Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, took place, when seventy-six Genoese galleys engaged unsuccessfully seventy-four belonging to the Venetians, Catalans, and Greeks. Encouraged by the sympathy of the Pope, whose legate in the East was always the Bishop of Genoa, as well as by their own vigour, the Genoese fought again, when out of seventy galleys only nineteen remained to dispute for the further possession of the title of Mistress of the Seas. Finally, in 1381, the Genoese were compelled to succumb to the maritime ascendancy of their Venetian rivals.

During the financial difficulties caused by these long and protracted struggles, the government was frequently obliged to borrow money from the wealthy citizens, to whom the revenues arising from customs duties were pledged in payment of the interest, and, if possible, in liquidation of the debt. These state creditors formed themselves into a company, with independent administration, known as the Bank of St. George, whose constitution, rights, and privileges all officers of the republic, previous to the assumption of their dignities, swore to maintain and respect. The capital or debt due by the state was divided into shares of 100 lire—which sum was called *luogo della repubblica*—and the management was entrusted to a committee of one hundred shareholders and a board of eight directors, chosen annually at a general meeting. When the power of Genoa in the East began to wane before that of Venice, the Bank of St. George undertook the defence of several of the colonial possessions for the general government. In 1456 the entire island of Corsica and the distant and important settlement of Kaffa on the Euxine were in the hands of this company. The latter fell under the rule of the Turks in 1474. With Corsica they were more successful; and, notwithstanding the irretrievable losses in the East, the Bank of St. George

would probably have succeeded, through its commercial activity, in restoring the fallen fortunes of the city, had not internal dissensions ruined the independence of the republic.

The sources of the wealth of Genoa, as of Venice, were numerous. Its most important trade was westward with Normandy and Flanders, and eastward with the Euxine; of which, as has just been stated, it had the monopoly. Genoa, in its zenith, possessed Marseilles, Kaffa, Azof, Corsica, and Elba. In 1339 a doge, or supreme magistrate, was elected. Rivalry for this office led, during two centuries, to frequent strife, and subjected the state more than once to the power of its neighbours. Andrea Doria freed his country from the yoke of France, and changed the form of government to that of biennial doges, with an advising council, a system retained during the rest of its mediæval history. In their contest with Venice, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Genoese sought assistance from John Visconti, Duke of Milan. This was rendered, but at the cost of their civic freedom. The state never regained its independence. The Portuguese discovery of a new route to India was also seriously prejudicial to Genoa, although less so than to Venice.

#### *PISA.*

THE citizens of Pisa were the early pioneers of the Italian Lombard commerce, and were distinguished as traders from the age of the Othos. The city was the third in importance amongst the commercial states of Italy, and from the eleventh to the thirteenth century it was a small but prosperous republic. The foreign possessions of Pisa were at one time Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands, all of which were taken from the Moors. These conquests, and the aid the Pisanese had rendered to the Crusaders, made their power respected, and their alliance sought both by the Genoese and the Venetians. We read of them as being at first leagued with

the former against the latter, and as being bought off by the offer of mercantile privileges denied by Venice to other states. Thus they were allowed to trade with the Venetian possessions, paying only a quarter of the customary dues, and at Constantinople they shared on equal terms the privileges which the Venetians enjoyed. When Genoa succeeded Venice in influence at Constantinople, in 1261, the Pisanese had their privileges continued, in order to secure their co-operation, and to sever them from Venice.

During this flourishing period there arose in Pisa those marvellous edifices which made the city the school of European architects—the Dome, the Baptistery, the Leaning Tower, and the Arcades of the Campo Santo or Cemetery. The Brotherhood of Humility, a company partly ecclesiastical and partly secular, established also at this time Eastern trading settlements which materially extended the Pisan commerce. The bitter feeling against the Saracens eventually toning down, the ports of Barbary, Spain, and Sicily were filled with Pisanese merchants.

Trimming between Genoa and Venice, Pisa made real friends of neither. For two hundred years a growing envy had smouldered in the Genoese mind, and at length it burst into a flame. Both states raised armaments comparatively so prodigious that they read like fabulous exaggerations. The success which had crowned their contests with the Moors did not attend the Pisanese when opposed to Genoa. On every occasion they were met by a superior fleet, and in the final battle of Meloria five thousand Pisanese fell, and eleven thousand were taken prisoners, most of whom perished in chains. "If you wish to find Pisa," it was commonly said, "you must look for her in the dungeons of Genoa." The port of Pisa was destroyed by the Genoese, and the mouth of the harbour was filled up. From this reverse the republic never recovered. It was vain any longer to contend for empire. Her colonies fell rapidly, and her commerce dwindled away. One of the Visconti family usurped the

dominion over the city, and subsequently sold it to Florence for 400,000 florins ; and with this state, after a century of intermittent struggles, it became permanently united.

### FLORENCE.

FLORENCE, the capital of Tuscany, a part of the ancient Etruria, with but a scanty history till the end of the twelfth century, when Rudolf, first Austrian emperor, sold the citizens their freedom for £70,000, ultimately became one of the leading cities of Italy in luxury and wealth. Manufactures were the main source of its riches, and the foundation of the fortunes of its most eminent citizens, of whom the Medici attained regal power. The industry of the free republic was directed and controlled by guilds or arts, seven of which were styled the greater guilds, and five (afterwards increased to fourteen) the lesser guilds. The seven greater arts were lawyers, bankers, physicians, merchants, salesmen, and two guilds of manufacturers. The lower arts were smiths, shoemakers, carpenters, masons, butchers, and others. The Pisanese at first acted as maritime carriers for the Florentines, but, urged by jealousy, eventually cut themselves off from this profitable trade. The Florentines then turned their own attention to shipbuilding, buying Livorno (Leghorn) of the Genoese as a convenient site for the purpose, and in the end they acquired an important commerce both by land and sea. Among their chief manufactures were woollens, silks, and jewellery, of which the first was pre-eminent. They possessed agencies everywhere, and acted as European exchangers or bankers. Their mercantile fleet consisted of twenty-six vessels—eleven large and fifteen small galleys—the sailing and return of which, as well as the nature of the cargo, were subjected to statutory regulations, after the example of Venice. The importance which their foreign trade attained was exemplified on the occasion of Boniface VIII. receiving the courtesies of foreign

states on his elevation to the papal chair, when twelve envoys out of the number proved to be citizens of Florence.

The name of the Medici is associated with science and art, letters and poetry, architecture, sculpture, and painting, and with colossal wealth. As princes, they forgot their former thrift, and lost vast fortunes in commerce through the mismanagement of their agents. The expenditure of the family in thirty-seven years (1434—1471) in buildings and charities amounted, according to Sismondi, to 32,000,000 francs of our present money. A simple and correct taste distinguished the Florentines, and even when their virtue had degenerated, and their voluptuousness had become a proverb, they still possessed their fine appreciation of the beautiful.

Florentine dyers, especially of scarlet, were unequalled. French cloths were finished off at Florence. Scarlet stuffs alone employed 200 manufacturers, producing annually 80,000 pieces or rolls of cloth. Silk fabrics and tapestries, straw hats and artificial flowers, soaps, essences, and perfumes, lacquered ware, and artistic work in mosaic, metal, and alabaster, glass, musical, mathematical, and philosophical instruments, and carriages, were all products of Florentine genius and industry. In the chronicle of Benedetto Dei we meet with the following quaint contrast between Venice and Florence :—

“ Know that we in Florence have two guilds, which are more estimable and noble than any in your city of Venice ; we mean the woollen and cloth manufacturers. They are known at the court of Rome as well as at that of Naples, in Sicily, and at Constantinople, Pera, Scio, Bursa, Gallipoli, Saloniki, Adrianople ; and wherever the Florentines send their cloths, there they have banks, chambers of commerce, agencies, and consulates. In silk wares, gold and silver stuffs, we make and shall always make more than Genoa, Venice, and Lucca together. Ask your merchants who frequent Marseilles, Avignon, Lyons, Geneva, Bruges,

Antwerp, and London. They find everywhere respectable banks, splendid exchanges, estimable trade-societies, churches, and consulates belonging to the Florentines. Inquire at the banks of the Medici, Pozzi Capponi, Buondelmonti, Corsini, Falconieri, Pontinari, and as many other houses as would fill a hundred pages with their names. These houses do no trade in merceries, quinquillas, sewing-threads, fringes, rose-wreaths, or glass-ware, but in ducats, brocade, and cloth. When you Venetians want to buy spiceries, cottons, and wax from Alexandria, you must pay for them in hard cash. The Florentines give, on the contrary, their cloths and other stuffs in exchange for their commodities, which they, moreover, get still more conveniently from Bursa."

#### AMALFI.

THE republic of Amalfi, a small state in Naples, had the singular fortune of uniting the ancient Roman refinement with the new civilisation of the Middle Ages. It rose, reached the height of its power, and declined, between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. Its career as a free trading state was brilliant, till checked by the arms of Roger Guiscard, King of Sicily; from which period its splendour was lost. Its citizens were renowned as sailors, and took an active share in the Crusades. The port extended its trade to Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople, and was a great mart of Eastern merchandise, frequented by Moors, Hindoos, Arabs, and Sicilians. French cloths formed a large item in its trade. Amalfi, scarcely referred to as a commercial port after its capture, has its name often repeated in connection with interesting historical incidents. Its citizens founded in Palestine the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, from which the military order took its name. Flavio Gioja, a citizen, introduced or improved the mariner's compass. Justinian's Pandects, after having been lost for

ages, are said to have been brought to light at the siege of Amalfi in 1137. Hallam, however, states that both discoveries are erroneously attributed to this city.

### *ANCONA.*

ANCONA, in the Papal States, was founded by the Syracusans about four centuries before Christ, and has ever been, next to Venice, the most considerable port on the Adriatic coast of Italy. Its early Eastern trade, chiefly with Cyprus, was supervised by a consul residing at St. Jean d'Acre. From the countries of the Levant it obtained raw cotton, spices, sugar, and alum, giving in return Florentine and French cloths, soap, and wine. At a later date, the area over which its commerce extended comprised Northern Europe, and the number of its imports and exports was greatly increased. Home produce, grain, hemp, pulse, linseed, fruits, wine, and oil; cattle, sheep, hogs, and cheese; manufactured goods of silk and leather; cordage, sail-cloth, wax, candles, sulphur, and verdigris, were articles of export. The imports comprehended manufactures, timber, dye-stuffs, drugs, salt fish, wool and wax, hardware and metals, some of which reached Ancona only in course of transit.

### *OTHER ITALIAN STATES.*

THE republics of Italy were so numerous in the Middle Ages, and their struggles and vicissitudes of fortune so frequent, that even to enumerate a few facts concerning each would be too long a task.

Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Lucca, Milan, Mantua, Brixen (in the Tyrol rather than Italy), Como, and Verona must be passed by with the briefest reference. These and other Italian cities prescribed customs duties for themselves, and carried on trade. Many new manufactures were likewise established, the knowledge of these having been gained at Constantinople.

In the year 1131 Roger Guiscard was crowned King of the Two Sicilies, at Palermo. He brought artisans from Athens, and founded a silk manufactory in this city in 1146. The sugar-cane was brought from China and planted in Sicily in the same century. The introduction of many plants and animals of economic importance, from their native habitats, about this period, widened the range of industry and trade. Under the name of Lombards, Italian capitalists were found in every European city, competing with the Jews as bankers and money-changers. A bankers' district of the city of London received the name of Lombard Street. All important as banking has been to society, its practice at first was held in as low esteem as pawnbroking. Bankers were in ill repute for the usury they exacted, arising from mutual ignorance of the principles that should govern the borrowing and lending of money. To charge interest on a loan was in feudal times thought wrong. Judging from the failures of the chief bankers of Florence, in consequence of the non-payment of enormous sums lent to our Edward III., it would appear that there were, earlier than Pistol, debtors who thought that "base is the soul that pays." In a similar spirit, St. Louis of France published an ordinance relative to the Jews, the predecessors of the Lombards in his dominions, whereby, "for the salvation of his own soul, and those of his ancestors, he releases to all Christians a third part of what was owing by them to the Jews." Louis at the same time claimed a percentage upon the savings thus effected.\*

\* *Monetary System of the Middle Ages.* Appendix F.



## CHAPTER IV.

### PORTUGAL.

THE fortunes of Portugal have been varied. It fell a prey to the Carthaginians under Hamilcar, and afterwards to the Romans, although with the last the struggle was maintained for two hundred years, and the Lusitanians did not wholly submit till the time of Augustus. Their chief leaders in the struggle with Rome were Viriathus, a Lusitanian shepherd, and Sertorius, a Roman leader, who fled from Rome after the triumph of the Syllan faction. Portugal suffered with Spain from the devastations of the Visigoths, who, for two hundred years, were masters of the country, till overwhelmed in turn by the Arabs, A.D. 713. After a century of occupation, the Moors were expelled from the northern provinces, and by degrees from the south. Ferdinand of Castile, in 1095, nearly cleared the country of them, and Henry of Burgundy, upon whom had been conferred the title of Count of Portugal by his father-in-law, Alphonso VI., King of Castile, was permitted to conquer for his own advantage any remaining Moorish possession. The son of Henry, Alphonso Henriquez, proved a formidable enemy to the Mohammedans, and after gaining a great victory over them at Ourique, he was proclaimed king by his soldiers in 1139. He took Lisbon in 1147, and before the year of his death in 1185, he ruled over almost every part of the kingdom.

Commerce existed between Portugal and England in 1270, and the fishing grounds of each were used in common. Alphonso the Restorer, the reigning monarch, and Dionis, his son, encouraged husbandry and manufactures,

and turned the splendid position of Portugal for foreign trade to such good account as to awaken a spirit which brought about the enterprises of the next century.

The early maritime enterprise of the Portuguese is associated with the genius, energy, and munificence of Prince Henry the Navigator. So enthusiastic was he for discovery, that in 1406 he took up his abode on the promontory of Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, at the southern extremity of Portugal, in order that he might get the first and last glimpse of the sails spread on his varied missions. From 1412 he sent out one ship annually to explore the African coast, but his first success was the discovery of Puerto Santo, one of the Madeiras, in 1418, in consequence of a ship having been driven out to sea in bad weather. The Madeiras and Canaries were annexed in 1420 to the Portuguese crown. Madeira, *i.e.*, timber isle, was an island of forests, which, having once caught fire, burned, it is affirmed, for seven years. The productiveness of the island has been ascribed to the fertilising effect of the wood ashes then spread over the soil. Colonies were planted in these islands, and the sugar-cane and Cyprus vine were introduced, the fruit of the last being destined to produce the renowned Madeira or Canary wine. It was not till 1433 that Gil Eannes, one of Don Henry's captains, doubled Cape Bojador. N. Tristan, eight years later, advanced as far as Cape Blanco, three degrees south of the tropic of Cancer. In order to secure his triumphs, Prince Henry procured a bull from Pope Eugenius IV., which guaranteed to the Portuguese all their discoveries between Cape Nun, in Morocco, and India. None of his commanders approached within six or eight degrees of the equator. Commercially their discoveries extended the fisheries, and brought them gold, ivory, and cotton, from the interior of Africa; but, in the restless desire to find a path to India, this trade was almost disregarded. The first negroes were brought to Lisbon by Nuno Tristan in 1442, from the Isle of Arguin,

near Cape Blanco. Cape Verde, and the Cape Verde Islands (so named on account of the abundance of green gulf-weed surrounding them), as well as the Azores, were discovered about 1448-9; and this was the limit of Portuguese exploration during Prince Henry's lifetime. This patriotic and enlightened prince died in 1463. By the year 1472, St. Thomas, Annobon, and Prince's Islands were added to the Portuguese discoveries, and occupied by colonists; and at length the equator was crossed. Fernando Po having given his name to an island in the Bight of Biafra, acquired possession of five hundred leagues of equatorial coast, whence the King of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guinea. The subsequent divisions of this territory into the Grain Coast, named from the cochineal thence obtained, and long thought to be the seed of a plant, Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, and Slave Coast, indicate by their names the nature of the products of those lands, and the kind of traffic. Under King John II., after an inactive period of eight or ten years, Diego Cam (1484) pushed forward fearlessly to latitude  $22^{\circ}$  south, erecting at intervals on the shore, pillars of stone, which asserted the rights of his sovereign to the newly-found land. For the first time, perhaps, in history, men had now sailed under a new firmament. They lost sight of a part of the old celestial constellations, and were awe-struck with the splendours of the Southern Cross, and hosts of new stars. Each successive commander aimed at outdoing the deeds of his predecessor. Imaginary perils, which had frightened former sailors, spurred the Portuguese to greater daring. Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, was sent in command of an expedition of three ships, with directions to sail till he reached the southernmost headland of Africa. Creeping on from cape to cape, he passed the furthest point touched by Diego Cam, and reached about  $29^{\circ}$  south latitude. Here driven out of his course by rough weather, he was dismayed on again making land to find the coast trending northward. He had doubled the Cape without knowing it, and only

found it out on returning, disheartened by the results of his voyage. Raising the banner of St. Philip on the shore of Table Bay, Diaz named the headland the Cape of Tempests, which the king, with the passage to India in mind, changed to that of the Cape of Good Hope. By a curious coincidence, in the same year Covillan, while on an embassy to the towns of Calicut and Goa in Hindostan, learnt the fact that the Cape of Good Hope, the Lion of the Sea, or the Head of Africa, could be reached across the Indian Ocean. Ten years elapsed, when, prompted by the Spanish discoveries of a New World in the West, Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese gentleman of ancient family, set sail from Lisbon (July 8, 1497) on the express mission of reaching the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. Success crowned the enterprise, and the problem of a new route was solved. Portugal had achieved the honour of lifting the mist that had hidden, from the days of Pharaoh Necho and the Phœnicians, the traditionary ocean path to India by the circumnavigation of Africa. On the 20th May, 1498, Gama reached Calicut, having on the way touched at Sofala, opposite Madagascar, and visited Mozambique and Melinda, from which last place pilots easily steered him across the Indian Ocean. De Gama found here a commercial prosperity based upon husbandry, handicrafts, and interchange, and had little trouble in entering into a treaty of trade with the Zamorin, or ruler of Malabar. His sudden appearance was by no means pleasing to the Arabs, who had acted for a long period as commercial intermediaries between India and the Western nations. They gained the ear of the Zamorin, and persuaded him that the Portuguese were pirates, and as Vasco de Gama had not gifts sufficiently rich to counteract their influence, it tasked his diplomatic skill to effect the departure of himself and his companions from Calicut in safety. Recrossing the Indian Ocean, he returned to Portugal in the year 1499. In the following year an expedition of thirteen ships, under Alvarez Cabral, accompanied by Bartholomew

Diaz (who was lost in a storm during the voyage), met with greater success. Cabral, driven out of his course, discovered Brazil, and, after despatching a ship with the tidings to Portugal, he continued his voyage to the Indies with six vessels. Arriving at Calicut, he met with a less hostile reception than Gama had experienced, for the Zamorin, in a friendly mood, gave him leave to establish a factory, and upon it to raise the Portuguese flag.\*

\* *Extent of World actually known previous to the Discoveries of Vasco de Gama and Columbus.* Appendix G.

## CHAPTER V.

### SPAIN.

#### I. — *BARCELONA*.

SPAIN, from its admirable geographical position and profusion of resources, appeared appointed to lead the world in wealth and civilisation. Spain, however, "saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and bowed the shoulders to bear, and became a servant unto tribute." The fate of Issachar had ever befallen the beautiful country—that of crouching between two burdens; one of indolence, self-imposed, the other, foreign, the yoke, successively, of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, Arabs, and Moors. From the dawn of history it was the prototype of *El Dorado*, which the Spaniards so eagerly sought, while ravaging Mexico and Peru. During the Dark Ages industry and commerce enriched the Spanish Arabs and Moors, and Barcelona, a city in which was concentrated the whole trade that stood in the place of a national commerce, was alternately in the hands of the Moors and the Christians. The few mercantile adventures of this period were forced by surrounding examples rather than spontaneous.

In 1341 a small fleet of three merchant-ships, manned by Genoese, Florentines, Portuguese, and Spaniards, was despatched for purposes of trade, and in 1344 Louis of France was created by the Pope Prince of the Fortunate Isles, the ancient name for the Canaries. Louis, being without patrimony, resolved to take possession of the gift, and to found there a permanent colony, towards which design the Dauphin Humbert contributed a dozen ships and half-a-dozen galleys.

Spanish enterprise ended at Cape Bojador (Round Cape), 2° north of the tropic of Cancer, which was reached in the year 1350.

The last twenty years closing the fifteenth century were distinguished by the enterprises and discoveries of the Portuguese, events which stirred Spain into activity, and caused her name to become identified with maritime discoveries even more astounding. The year 1492 was distinguished by the discovery of America, and by the final conquest of Granada.

Before narrating the course of events with which the name of Columbus will be for ever identified, minuter details of Catalonian trade claim precedence in order of time. Barcelona, the chief town of the province of Catalonia, lays claim to a genealogy extending further back than the foundation of Rome. It was in turn a Carthaginian and a Roman colony. In 1164 the whole province became absorbed in the kingdom of Aragon. As a commercial state, the history of Barcelona dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. At this period, Hallam says, the Catalans began to emulate the maritime cities of Italy, both in war and commerce. Their vessels sailed to every part of the Mediterranean and other European seas. Barcelona was a formidable rival to Genoa, with which city it was engaged in frequent hostilities. Its rank was highest in the fifteenth century, when Venice alone exceeded it in maritime power. It was the depot of Eastern wealth for distribution in Christian Spain. The privileges granted to the Catalans by the kings of Aragon were such as to secure to them almost the independence of a sovereign state. Personal liberty was so guarded that no one could be arrested on board ship for an offence, provided he offered security for his surrender to justice after the voyage. The Catalans became so experienced in ship-building, that other nations resorted to their dockyards for the purchase of merchant-vessels. They excelled the Genoese mariners in intrepidity,

while as manufacturers they were especially expert and industrious. The nobles were as eager for the profits of commerce as the common people, and thus all ranks were united for the common benefit.

During the disturbances which followed the taking of Constantinople by the Venetians, and when a great encroachment of the Western nations introduced Italians, and Spaniards, and Frenchmen into the provinces and islands of the Eastern empire, the Catalans were for a time the great holders of territory on the continent of Greece, the Venetians holding the islands.

Barcelona possessed, besides its ship-yards and wharves, a custom-house, a fine arsenal, foreign warehouses, manufactories, banks, and exchanges, where Jews and Lombards, French, Italian, and German traders, attracted by the enlightened spirit of its laws, carried on their business. Among others we read, in 1400, of fifteen Dutch and thirteen Savoyard houses of business. It would have been useless for these enterprising citizens to compete in manufacturing industry with the skilled Moors of Seville, Toledo, Malaga, Granada, and Almeria. Numerous guilds of artificers existed notwithstanding, and these proved invaluable after the expulsion of the Moors, making Barcelona the most important manufacturing town in Spain. The manufactures consisted chiefly of woollen, cotton, and silk goods, lace, linen, paper, leather, and cordage.

Much of Catalonia was rocky and barren, but part was very fertile, producing cereals, flax, hemp, liquorice, madder, saffron, almonds, filberts, chestnuts, figs, citrons, grapes, olive-oil, and silk; of mineral produce, copper, lead, zinc, manganese, cobalt, with coal, nitre, rock-salt, barilla, and marble occurred. A good deal of wine was made, and there existed forests of the cork-oak, as well as of timber fit for ship-building. Upon these foundations the Catalans built up a transport trade greater even than their proper commerce. They held intercourse with the Spanish ports



of Valencia and Lerida. They possessed a Catalan quarter in the French markets of Beaucaire and Troyes, carrying thither especially Moorish or Morocco leather. They took cloth, saffron, and Eastern goods to Sicily, bringing away grain and silk. Their commerce with Barbary, Egypt, and Syria provided them with herbs, spices, drugs, raw and spun cotton, ivory, indigo of two varieties, carmine, gums, balsam, rhubarb, aloe wood, coral, pearls, and porcelain brought by the Arabs from China; and these commodities they again dispersed abroad. Flanders, the principal centre of their trade with North Europe, received from them logwood, saffron, cotton-thread, dates, sugar, anise, lac, and furs. Their ships were shut out from Constantinople and the Black Sea by the opposition of the Italians, but with Cyprus, Rhodes, and Candia they had an extensive trade.

We owe to Barcelona the establishment of the first bank of deposit for the convenience of private merchants (1401), and also the earliest well-authenticated regulations for marine insurance. The credit of having produced the first work on maritime law in a modern language, "*Il Consolato del Mare*," is claimed by Barcelona, and the claim is at least allowed by Hallam.\*

## II.—COLUMBUS AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

CHRISTOPHER COLON or Columbus will ever have the honour of the discovery of America, although deprived of the right of imprinting his name upon the "other world" which he gave to Castile and Aragon.

Previous communication had doubtlessly existed between the old and new continents through the wide-stretching lowlands that surround the North Pole. The reindeer and other representatives of the fauna are common to both hemispheres, and the Esquimaux of

\* *Commercial Legislation and Maritime Law.* Appendix H.

Mongolian or Turanian origin wander round the whole circuit of Arctic latitudes. Summarizing the views of Malte-Brun, Humboldt, and other writers, De Tocqueville says, "Some points of resemblance have been discovered between the physical conformation, the language, and the customs of the North American Indians, and of the Tun-gouses, the Manchoos, the Mongols, the Tartars, and other nomadic tribes of Asia. The proximity of these tribes to Behring's Straits lends probability to the hypothesis that at a remote period they peopled the uninhabited continent of America. But science has yet arrived at no certain conclusion on this point."\* Greenland, as well as Iceland (the latter by geographical position more properly American than European), had been settled by Scandinavian colonists, who had also visited the mainland. As a continent, however, stretching across a whole hemisphere, America was unknown. Columbus believing in the rotundity of the earth, and in the indefinite extension of the Indies to the east (a notion derived from Marco Polo), aimed only at reaching the extreme Indies by sailing to the west, a feat which he might have done but for the intervention of the New World. Impressed with this thought, Columbus stored up every shred of information indicative of the existence of western lands till the proofs seemed to him conclusive. Far out at sea a mariner had picked up a piece of peculiarly carved wood, different from anything then known. On the island of Flores two dead bodies had been drifted ashore, of a race unlike any in the Old World. It is also stated that Columbus had been to Iceland, where he met with many circumstances which strengthened his convictions. His great glory is that he observed, compared, and drew inferences, from phenomena patent to all, but to which he alone attached their due weight, and that he afterwards established the truth of his inferences. Columbus,

\* "De la Démocratie en Amérique," vol. i. c. i. p. 34.

born probably in 1435 or 1436, was the son of a wool-comber of Cagoletto or Albizola, in the state of Genoa. As a Genoese, he had an inborn love of the sea, and became a sailor at the early age of fourteen. Through the care of his father, he was even then a good draughtsman and a fair scholar, having studied in Pavia astronomy, geography, and navigation, together with geometry and Latin. His range of mental culture enabled him to profit by his practical experience of seamanship. He became a dauntless mariner and a skilful constructor of charts. The circumstances of his early life tended to kindle the fervour of his genius for discovery. About the year 1470 he married the daughter of an old Portuguese navigator, by name Bartholomew Perestrelo, who had visited the west coast of Africa, and who possessed a large collection of maps and charts. Columbus commenced the drawing of charts as a means of gaining a livelihood, and every one he drew inspired him with a more ardent faith. He determined to test his cherished idea of the existence of land in the West. How he offered immortal fame to his countrymen, the Genoese, and to the Venetians, and was treated by both with contumely, is a matter of history. Yet we cannot but think with regret of the different fate which would have awaited America and its feeble red people if a more humane, experienced, and enlightened nation had responded to his appeal. The King of Portugal basely betrayed Columbus while pretending to listen to his views, and sent out another seaman, who, without the genius or prepossessions of Columbus, soon returned to report against the scheme. Columbus now turned to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, while his brother visited England to solicit ships and money from Henry VII. One state after another threw away the noble chance of distinction. Even Spain, though urged by national honour and jealousy to emulate the maritime enterprise of Portugal, hesitated long before she granted the suit of Columbus, for not till he

was leaving the country in despair did the queen, under the stimulus of Portuguese discovery and his own pertinacity, concede him three small caravels or boats used in the herring fishery (only one of them completely decked), a mutinous crew of ninety men, and a few thousand ducats for the charges of the voyage. Columbus set sail from the small seaport of Palos in Andalusia, on the 3rd of August, 1492. His heroic perseverance was manifested more strikingly than ever in the management of his frightened and rebellious sailors, who bowed before him at one time as though he was inspired, and at another offered him the choice of death or return. San Salvador, one of the Bahamas, and probably the present Watling Island of the charts, was the first land sighted. Columbus went on shore on the 12th of October, 1492, having left the Canaries just thirty-five days before. While cruising about, he fell in with Cuba and St. Domingo, and then returned to Europe, bringing with him some of the natives, together with gold and curiosities. No honours were now deemed too great for him. His reception was grander than any military triumph. He was soon provided with a fitting armament for the prosecution of his researches. Instead of the dregs of the galleys, his ships were crowded with volunteers from among the bravest seamen. His second voyage lasted from 1493 to 1496. In this he discovered Dominica, Marie Galante, Guadaloupe, Porto Rico, and Jamaica. It was not until his third voyage (1498—1500) that he discovered the island of Trinidad, and descried the mainland of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco. In his fourth and last voyage he surveyed the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mosquito coast, ultimately reaching the shores of Jamaica, with his ships reduced to mere wrecks. Columbus saw in these islands of the western ocean a confirmation of his opinion that he could reach the East Indies by sailing to the west. He returned to Europe to learn of Vasco de Gama's passage round the Cape, and

became convinced that he had but to seek a strait or channel through which he could sail to the Moluccas. He perpetuated the memory of his delusion in the name of the West Indies, which he gave to this archipelago; and, ill-treated by the country upon which he had shed such honour, he did not live long enough to rectify his error.\*

\* *Belief in the Sphericity of the Earth before the time of its Circumnavigation.* Appendix I.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FRANCE.

THE history of commerce and industry in France during the Middle Ages resolves itself, as in Italy, into the history of separate towns, rather than that of a united kingdom. These towns were situated in the maritime provinces bordering respectively on the Mediterranean Sea, the Bay of Biscay, and the English Channel. The Mediterranean division contained three commercial towns, Marseilles, Aigues-Mortes, and Montpellier, with others engaged in woollen manufactures in the province of Languedoc.

Marseilles has always been the chief commercial city and seaport of France. Originally a Greek colony under the name of Massilia, it was long a flourishing rival of Carthage ; and during even the depth of the Dark Ages, it maintained its commercial character. Its convenience as a port of departure for the Holy Land caused many of the Crusaders to choose it for embarkation. The municipal authorities encouraged this passenger traffic by rigid laws of inspection, to ensure the comfort and proper treatment of the voyagers. Such restrictions applied to an exceptional trade were of great service, but failed of their purpose when the authorities attempted to legislate in a similar way for the permanent commerce of the town. With the hope of fostering the growth of native industries, they made it illegal to import foreign commodities, but thereby they diminished both their foreign trade and their home manufactures. The making of coarse woollens could alone be said to flourish. The wool was obtained from the Barbary

states, and it employed the looms of all Provence as well as of the city of Marseilles. The cloths were dyed of bright colours with logwood, madder, and carmine, and for their strength and durability found favour in Italy and Greece. The cultivation of the mulberry and the manufacture of silk were introduced with success, but attempts to raise the sugar-cane failed. Marseilles grew in prosperity with each succeeding age, until its commerce and manufactures became very great.

Aigues-Mortes was once a considerable harbour. Louis IX. sailed from this port on his crusade. It is situated amongst the salt marshes of the Rhone, and is now four miles inland. On account of the stagnant or dead waters by which it is surrounded, and whence comes the name (*aque mortue*), its climate is unhealthy. The marshes are, however, turned into a source of wealth by the manufacture of salt and potash. A more salubrious adjacent town with the name of Aigues-Vives became afterwards noted for the distillation of brandy (*eau de vie*). The commerce of Aigues-Mortes was chiefly that which it derived as a depot for spices and other Eastern goods, to be interchanged with the woollen and linen textures of the northern provinces of France. The port being undesirable as a residence, the factors and bankers transacted their business at Avignon, higher up the Rhone, where the warehouses of the Italian and other foreign merchants were also to be found.

The towns of the province of Languedoc were famous for their silk and woollen manufactures, especially of those dyed scarlet, rose, and azure blue. Montpellier, Narbonne, Nismes, Beziers, Carcassonne, Perpignan, and Toulouse, were the chief industrial towns. Fairs were held at Beaucaire and Montpellier, at which places the Florentines bought English wool, and the Venetians obtained French cloths for their commerce in the Levant.

Still more important was the cloth trade of the provinces adjoining Flanders. Troyes, the capital of Champagne, was

a manufacturing town in the fifth century, and a fair was established there at least as early as 1118. Known as the Remigius Market, this fair for three hundred years grew in importance, and attracted German, Dutch, Flemish, Lombard, Florentine, and Venetian merchants. Troyes was the entrepôt of the manufactures of Champagne and also of the neighbouring provinces of Picardy, the Isle of France, and Normandy. The products of industry to be found there were of a varied character, though none of them in value approached the textile fabrics.

The following list of towns includes the seats of the cloth industry in each province :—

*Champagne*.—Troyes, Châlons, Rheims, Provins, Sens, Vitry, St. Dizier.

*Isle of France*.—Pontoise, St. Denis, Paris, Lagni, Senlis.

*Normandy*.—Rouen, Louviers, Bernai.

*Picardy*.—St. Quentin, Aubenton, Amiens, Abbeville.

Troyes obtained cloth from the South Netherlands as largely as from the French provinces. The following then Flemish towns were thus in commercial intercourse with Troyes :—Cambray, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Avesnes, in Hainault ; Arras, Douai, Lille, Tournay, Dixmude, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, in Artois and Flanders ; Malines, Brussels, Louvain, Diest, and Huy, in Brabant and Liège.

Amongst the miscellaneous commodities reaching the markets of Troyes were leathern goods from the south of France, and horses from Lombardy and Germany. Eastern produce, such as spices, formed a large part of the merchandise of the Venetian traders ; for the French merchants charged themselves with little business beyond what was brought to their shores. Merchandise converging upon Troyes from so many places made the town rich and influential. The Troyes or Troy weight became a standard, recognised and generally adopted. Two causes combined at length to diminish its trade : first, merchants were deterred by the unwise imposition of heavy dues from bringing



their goods; and next, in 1298, when the overland route for Oriental commerce, by way of Syria and Constantinople, was closed to the Venetians, and they re-opened the old route through Egypt, goods were conveyed by sea direct to England and the Netherlands. Bruges was the first of the Flemish cities thus favoured by intercourse with the East; Antwerp followed in 1318. Troyes clung to its privileges and prohibitions till it fell into utter decay; while other towns, till then insignificant, began to share its failing trade and profits. Charles VII. in 1445 conferred upon Lyons, a city much more conveniently situated for the trade of southern France, the privilege of holding three markets. Of the northern sea-ports, Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine, was at this time the seat of a trade with the Portuguese and Castilians.

Although the harbours of the western coast of France are admirably suited for commerce, their sea-trade did not attain any magnitude till long after Marseilles had risen to be an active and important port. The two principal ports were Bordeaux and La Rochelle. Till the year 1312, when they were deprived of the immunities which they had previously enjoyed, the Templars conducted much of the trade of Rochelle. Its exports consisted largely of wine. The Flemings alone bought at this town 40,000 casks annually. One consignment, the vessels conveying which were captured by the English, consisted of 9,000 casks.

Bordeaux is an ancient city, having under the name of Burdigala been rebuilt by the Romans, A.D. 260, after its destruction by fire. It is well placed for foreign commerce, and it sent wine to England in 1302. Its traffic with the interior became developed from the facilities afforded it by the Garonne, the Dordogne, and their tributaries. The articles of commerce sent from Bordeaux increased in number until the city came to rank next to Marseilles. The foreign trade of France at this period was conducted almost wholly by the Dutch, or by foreign ships trading with the

French ports. Holland took to France cloths and fish, and the raw produce of Russia, Sweden, and Germany. An intermittent wine trade with England was carried on, though often disturbed by war. France received from England woollen fabrics, wool, lead, and fish. France owes much of its modern prosperity to the stimulus given to her industries by Italy, which had ever been the richest and most beautiful country of Europe, and the entrepôt of the commerce of the East and the West. Charles VIII., when in Italy, sent to France not only works of art, but artists and artisans, many of whom became French citizens, and by their teaching improved the taste and extended the range of French industry. The French were well aware of their inferiority to the Italians, and even prided themselves upon being the disciples of those whom they went to enslave. Amongst those who settled in the country were goldsmiths, tailors, carpenters, carvers, weavers, embroiderers, musicians, architects, painters, and philosophers. Under the idea that the profits of the trade would be confined entirely to citizens of France, and that navigation would be promoted, the government altered its policy and ordered foreign goods to be imported in French vessels only. Commerce in consequence was diverted to freer harbours, competition and emulation no longer incited to excellence, and contraband trade was encouraged.

## CHAPTER VII.

### ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND.

*England.*—There was nothing in the intercourse between the ancient nations and our own country that foreshadowed the supremacy we were destined to attain in the arts of industry and the pursuits of commerce. The geographical isolation of Britain had its counterpart in our social and commercial life. Our richest natural endowments, coal and iron, were, in the first period of British history, almost unknown. England was covered with dense forests; herds of wild cattle and other beasts roamed through the country; agriculture was practised only in the rudest way, and the natives lived chiefly upon fruits and the products of hunting. Little of the land was arable, and the forests were valued, not for their timber, but for their pannage in the form of the mast of oak and beech, which furnished sustenance to herds of swine. Tin lying near the surface of the soil, and lead in considerable quantities, were exchanged with the Phœnicians for trinkets; and a few simple commodities were transmitted overland to Marseilles, for use in the Levantine states and Greece. Roman occupation increased the mineral produce, but cattle-rearing and swine-herding long employed most of the inhabitants. Hides, wool, and furs are named among the exports, and British pearls appear to have been esteemed. In the Saxon period a commercial treaty was made between the king of the Mercians and Charlemagne, and about the same time notice is taken of an Anglo-Saxon trader in Marseilles. Other Anglo-Saxon merchants visited the market of St. Denis, in the reign of Dagobert, while

in the eighth century Frisians visited England. Fairs existed among the natives, but trade was restricted by the law which forbade transactions above the value of twenty pence, except in the sight of two witnesses or of the magistrate.

While the Mediterranean was crowded with an active commerce, England was merely productive and passive, waiting at home for traders, who visited it for tin, lead, wool, and hides. English wool was so esteemed that Charlemagne exempted merchants dealing in it from the peril of capture in war. Wool, also, was the staple of exchange for the cloths of the Netherlands from the days of Alfred the Great.

William the Conqueror sheltered a band of weavers driven from Zealand by an irruption of the sea, and the country profited by the intercourse they established with Holland. English wool soon improved so much that next to money it was the commodity most eagerly sought in foreign exchange. Part of the ransom of Richard I. was paid in wool. Eventually corn and cheese began to be regular articles of export. The herring shoals found off Yarmouth gave the first impulse to our principal fishery. The herring trade was confirmed to that town by a charter of King John. London was the earliest in time and the first in importance of the English trading cities. Tacitus mentions London as a celebrated resort of merchants. Bede relates that it was frequented by foreigners in 614 for the purposes of trade, and William of Malmesbury speaks of it as a wealthy and populous city in 1041. An early trade in slaves brought profit to Bristol.

In the Norman period agriculture and manufactures were less rude than in the time of the Saxons, but spinning and weaving were for a long time household avocations, and the coarsest cloths alone were produced when the industrial arts in France had reached some degree of excellence. During the Roman occupation of Britain the

native roads were improved, and others still remaining as great highways were constructed. Nevertheless, the general means of communication were wretched; the carriages were clumsy, and pack-horses along bridle paths supplied the chief mode of transport. On the rivers the Britons skilfully managed their light coracles made of wicker and hides. Probably they ventured in larger canoes as far as Ireland and Gaul. Alfred the Great created a navy of war-galleys, each rowed by sixty or eighty men, to cope with the Danish naval power. Under the Norman kings, further improvements in naval architecture were stimulated by association with France. England was occasionally unable to hold her own, but at other times was aggressive. Trading states in the Middle Ages regarded the seas as the domain of the strongest, and acts which would now be called piracy were often committed. Towns fought against each other without reference to law or king. Yarmouth, Winchelsea and the other Cinque Ports were often in open hostility with the maritime towns of Flanders and France. Individuals as well as towns were left to enforce on their own account the reparation for maritime wrongs, and in their desire to recover their losses they were not scrupulous, where the real offender was difficult to reach, about choosing another in his stead. English merchants for many generations had to fight for every advantage they gained. The European trading leagues having got the start, did their best to stifle in its birth every new effort at foreign trade. They looked upon English vessels as lawful prizes, and sealed their own ports against fresh comers by heavy "discriminative" duties. A celebrated company of "merchant adventurers," however, received a charter in 1406 from Henry IV., and notwithstanding the opposition of Continental monopolists, pursued a profitable trade, smuggling the cheap coarse English woollens into the marts of Flanders, Italy, and the Levant, in exchange for rich cloths, wines, and arms.

The causes and the consequences of the backward condi-

tion of England are not far to seek. Saxons, Danes, Normans, not only plundered the prior inhabitants, but disturbed their institutions. At each conquest the nation was thrown back, and had to begin anew. The Britons under the Romans partook of the refinement of their masters. Progress, arrested when William the Norman ground the land under his iron heel and blighted Saxon freedom with the curse of thralldom, was long in making a fresh start. The feudal system in England virtually rendered industry penal, for it enforced idleness on the vassals, who learned to think that war and the chase were the fitting employments for free men, and that useful work was degrading. Forest laws kept the land from cultivation, and consequently husbandry remained in a low condition. The caprice of the seasons led to failures of produce, both vegetable and animal, and famines were far from unfrequent. For generations England continued a country of forests and marshes—the hunting-ground of domineering Normans. Red deer and wild swine were of higher value in the eyes of such men than the lives of Saxon serfs. Trade was checked by rapine and lawlessness, and few foreign merchants would risk life and property for the profits of commercial intercourse.

The monasteries of that time seem to have been the sanctuaries of industry as well as of learning. Located in fertile vales, the clergy made labour a sacred duty, and by cultivating the rich lands around them they improved the practice of agriculture. They were lenient masters. By shielding the farm labourers from the injustice of the barons, the monks prepared the way for the overthrow of villeinage. If the loss of liberty be the loss of half our virtue, we owe an indefinite debt to monachism for the restitution of this priceless boon. As freemen the lower orders acquired a right to property, which elevated their moral tone and added to the prosperity of the whole population. Manufactures no less than husbandry were fostered by the monks. The principle of every monastery was, that each community

should supply as far as possible its own wants by home labour. Cloth was woven from home-grown wool; abbeys and churches were planned and built by ecclesiastical artificers, and beautiful ruins and splendid cathedrals remain as evidences of their genius. Each religious retreat was a centre of industry greater than military glory. Conquerors and conquered were silently brought together by the teaching and example of the Church, until in the lapse of time and through many agencies the fusion of the two rival races, Saxon and Norman, was completed.

From this period England possesses a national history, and dates its growth as an industrial and commercial power. Characteristic of ignorance, indeed, laws were passed to prevent native industry from being injured by the influx of the necessities and comforts of life from abroad. Thus Henry II. incorporated the weavers of London, and gave them many privileges, condemning all foreign wool to be burnt. Edward I. and Edward III. were warlike rulers, continually in need of pecuniary subsidies, and unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained them. They perceived that trade was a main source of wealth, and so far, therefore, they encouraged the pursuits of industry. Edward I. opened English ports to the merchants of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Lombardy, and Tuscany, but he confiscated the property of sixteen thousand five hundred industrious Jews, whom he banished from the kingdom, thereby displaying religious fervour, while bringing money to his well-nigh exhausted treasury, and relieving himself of enormous debts. Edward III. granted the weavers, dyers, and fullers of Flanders exclusive privileges, to induce them to settle in the kingdom, yet at the same time fettered the grant with absurd regulations to prevent his invited guests growing rich or proud. A citizen of London in the same reign was executed for using coal as fuel, after it had been forbidden. The clamour against coal may be more easily understood when we remember that

chimneys and glass windows were luxuries not as yet commonly enjoyed, and that the smoke from fires had to make its escape from crevices in the buildings. The earliest export of coal was from Newcastle to France, in 1325. About this time, also, textile fabrics were first exported from England. Woollen cloths were manufactured at Bristol, London, and Norwich. Linen and silk-weaving began to flourish. The hardware manufacture, however, was still bound down by heavy duties, and tin vessels made in Malta, from ore raised in England, formed a portion of the imports.

How rapidly a native marine was formed may be judged by the fact that the Cinque Ports, which for special immunities granted at the Conquest were bound to furnish, when required, merchant vessels for use in war, supplied but five of such vessels for the use of Edward I.; while, together with London, Bristol, and Southampton, they furnished seven hundred and ten, manned by over fourteen thousand sailors, for the service of Edward III. in the siege of Calais. This was the era of the merchant-princes whose names are landmarks in English history. The family of the De la Poles, merchants of Hull, were distinguished for their great wealth, amassed in commercial pursuits in the reign of Edward III. Between that period and the reign of Henry VIII., the De la Pole family produced a lord chancellor, and acquired successively an earldom, a marquissate, and a dukedom. The wealth of Canynge, five times mayor of Bristol in the reign of King Henry VI., is attested in the stately structure of St. Mary Redcliffe, the "Pride of the West," one of the finest examples of our ecclesiastical architecture; and also in the still active charities of that city. Still more renowned is Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, who had "right liberal and large hands" to all poor people, and the fame of whose wealth has given rise to one of our commonest nursery stories.



Wealth arising out of industry and commerce produced great changes in national manners and customs. A powerful middle class was created, jealous of their rights, and profiting by the depression of the barons during the Wars of the Roses. These conflicts had long diverted the attention of the English people from the vast natural resources with which they were favoured, while Iberians, Italians, Danes, Norwegians, and Germans, who had, from their offices in London, controlled the foreign trade, obtained for many years a new lease of our matchless coast and harbours. At the accession of the House of Tudor, the magnitude of Dutch, German, or even French trade had not been reached, but there had, nevertheless, been laid by England the foundations of a commerce and an opulence destined to excel and outlast the prosperity of nations much earlier than herself in the race.

*Scotland.*—The trade of Scotland was less important than that of England, yet large fisheries were carried on along the coasts, and coarse cloths were woven in the towns. The exports were chiefly raw materials, some of which were carried in Scottish ships. The commodities comprised wool, beavers' skins, hides, oxen, horses, and sheep, and were consigned for the most part to the Low Countries. There, as in England, war blighted the promise of dawning commercial enterprise. During the days of the Alexanders\* Scottish industry showed signs of development, which the struggle for independence, produced by the claims of Edward I., utterly destroyed. One of the few authentic documents connected with the hero Sir William Wallace, during his regency of the country after the battle of Stirling,

- \* " Qwhen Alysander oure Kyng wes dede  
 That Scotlande led in luv and lee,  
 Away wes sonse of aill and brede  
 Of meal and malt, of gamyn and glee;  
 Our golde wes changyd al in lede.  
 Chryste borne into virgynite  
 Succour Scotlande, and remede  
 That stad in his perplexité!"

is a treaty with the Hanse Towns to renew the intercourse between them and Scotland, interrupted by the English. It was discovered in the archives of Hamburg. The acts of the Scottish parliament from James I. downwards are largely taken up with legislation affecting the national commerce.

*Ireland.*—Irish commerce resembled that of Scotland and England, and in importance ranked between the two. Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda were prosperous ports, dealing in hides, skins, wool, and fish, and to some extent in grain. Woollen and linen goods were exported to a small extent. The commercial imposts were light, which gave the country the advantage of possessing comparative freedom of trade.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE NETHERLANDS.

#### *I.—NORTH NETHERLANDS.*

HOLLAND, or the North Netherlands, is referred to by Tacitus as the country of the Batavians, a tribe claiming to be the auxiliaries and friends, but not the subjects of the Romans. The country was at that time a wide marsh, composed more or less of saline diluvium from the Rhine and the Maas, subject to constant changes of form from the action of the sea, and destitute alike of minerals and of timber. Niebuhr says the prevalence of bog rendered any distinctive term for that substance unnecessary in the old dialect, as though no other soil were known.

The Batavians mingled afterwards with the Frisians, the Saxons, and the Franks, the four races constituting the elements of the population of the Northern Netherlands.

Dutch history was, to speak generally, one long wrestle for existence. Beaver-like labour had first to enclose a country to live in, and then to procure by commerce the means of subsistence. The kine of the meadows furnished butter, cheese, and hides, and the rivers and the sea fish. Such industrial discipline was severe, but every step was sure. The Emperor Charlemagne chose Frisian robes, both white and of purple dye, as Easter presents to his favourites, and to the princes in alliance with him; amongst them the Caliph Haroun al Raschid. The interweaving of figures in their textures was an art in which the Frisians seem to have excelled. Their provinces between the fifth and eighth centuries embraced all the

“sea-lands” between the mouth of the Weser in Germany and that of the Zwin in West Flanders. Their name was afterwards applied only to the northern districts of Holland ; indeed, the Frisian stock now exists only in far-severed fragments and upon outlying promontories and isles which form the ruins of a once extensive country, nine-tenths of which have been swept away by the waves of the North Sea ; but the western coast of Schleswig is still Frisian. The Norse sea-kings found in them a different people to attack from the inhabitants of many other coasts. The Frisians not only repelled the rovers, but daringly pursued them on the North Sea, and even to the Baltic. Under Charlemagne, they also served on the Danube against the Avars. In order to secure their commerce, they fixed upon Stavoren, a town conveniently situated on the Zuyder Zee, which then covered but a small part of the land now submerged, and made it their capital. Stavoren rapidly rose to commercial greatness. Traditions of the opulence of its ancient burghers still linger in many legends, and in the epithet of “the lamented children of Stavoren.” Numerous records are extant of Frisian hardihood, both on sea and land. The Firth of Forth is called by Nennius the *Mare Frisecum* because of its exposure to their early incursions. Every year the North Sea was covered with their herring-boats. Along with other Netherlanders, they were active by sea and land during the Crusades.

The principal period of the rise of the towns of the Netherlands was between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries. The provinces were ruled by feudal lords, whose vassalage to the German emperor was more nominal than real, and at length was but faintly acknowledged. As a means of revenue the rulers took toll at every town, and thus they hampered trade ; but greater injury was inflicted upon the nascent commerce by the jealous and almost incessant strife of the provinces amongst themselves. The south and the north Netherlanders, especially, were always rivals. The

mouths of the rivers being in Holland, the inhabitants were enabled to exact any tolls they pleased from the Flemish and German merchants. Such imposts led to resistance, in which the Flemings were often successful.

The trade of Holland divided itself into the trade of the south, with Venice by way of Germany, and the trade of the north, with the Osterlings or Easterlings of the Hanse Towns in the Baltic. That with Venice was conducted partly by the Germans, and partly by the Dutch, the Venetians themselves taking no active part in the carriage of the goods. Repeated interchanges took place in the German towns in the course of transit, so that the same commodities were not always carried from one extremity to the other.

Dordrecht, also called Dort, one of the oldest Dutch cities, is situated in the estuary of the Maas, on an island torn from the mainland during the flood of 1421, about four hundred years after the foundation of the city. Dort was the foremost town of the province, and at one time the residence of the Counts of Holland. Its natural strength was too great for its rulers to be coerced by feudal lords. Heavily-laden vessels could come close to the quays, and the city would have been an important trading-place even without the unusual privileges conferred upon it by its princes, and by which it was enriched. English wool was one of the commodities, of which, for German dealers, it became the principal store. Salt, wines, grain, hops, and wood, were subject to pre-emptive reservations. Being the last port on the Rhine, it was the point where the huge rafts of timber floating down from the German forests were broken up and sold. A great trade was carried on in salt fish and fish oils, as well as in corn and flax. The manufacture of cloth, both woollen and linen, employed many hands; ship-building, sawing, and other industrial occupations, added to the importance of the town.

Zierikzee was, before the thirteenth century, a rich and

flourishing port; in the fifteenth it possessed the largest ships and a numerous mercantile fleet, and traded with Portugal and Spain. Hoorn or Horn, on the Zuyder Zee, owed its prosperity to some Hanse merchants, who established a trading station there in 1316. The trade they brought to the place was chiefly that in beer, but Hoorn also became the seat of a traffic in cattle with Denmark, and in provisions and dairy produce with the maritime countries further south. Its ship-building yards were extensive, and its inhabitants were amongst the ablest of navigators. Zierikzee and Hoorn are of historical as well as commercial interest, for the public spirit with which they resisted the levies of money and men made by Charles the Bold. As a consequence of the wars of this prince, Dutch merchantmen became the frequent prizes of France and other kingdoms; valuable cargoes were annually sacrificed, and crews made prisoners; while at home, taxes were enforced the more rigidly as the citizens became less able to pay. Through the vengeance taken by Charles upon the principal towns, cloth-weaving, which had hitherto been a flourishing manufacture at Hoorn, fell into decay, owing to the numbers of weavers and fullers who were driven from their homes. Zierikzee was made to pay a fine of thirty thousand guilders, and to support a garrison of foreign troops.

Haarlem was a large but not densely populated town, early celebrated for its horticultural produce and for its varied industries. Its staple manufactures of textile fabrics, particularly woollens, were in demand in places as distant as Portugal and Spain. Damask linen from the looms of Haarlem was esteemed in every quarter of the world. Specimens of these damask fabrics were produced of such wonderful fineness and beauty, as to surpass those of the Saracens. Haarlem compounded with the Counts of Holland in 1245, by a guaranteed payment of £20 a year, for freedom from taxes for ever. It suffered pillage in 1491 by

the "Bread and Cheese" insurgents, who were incited to revolt through the misrule of the House of Burgundy.

Leyden at one time sent its cloth to Norway, to England, and to France; it contained a hundred thousand inhabitants, a great number of whom were engaged in the weaving trade. This high state of prosperity resulted from the liberality of the citizens. While the wealthier towns of the South Netherlands were exclusive in their policy, North Holland wisely welcomed all comers, and readily accorded to them the rights of citizenship. Fugitives from Brabant and Flanders settled at Leyden and other towns soon after the year 1300, bringing with them their skill in handicrafts. The city grew rich from the labour of these immigrants, and produced from its three hundred and fifty looms nearly fifty thousand pieces of cloth annually. It also exported machinery.

Delft, like most of the Dutch towns, possessed cloth manufactures, especially those of say or baize: brewing was another important industry, and its potteries were known so far and wide, that Delf or Delft became the common name for that earthenware which is now superseded, even in Holland, by the superior Wedgwood ware and china of England. Gouda likewise was laying the foundation of of considerable trade.

Enkhuizen was a ship-building and fishing port. Three-fourths of the Dutch-built herring-boats, from four hundred to five hundred in number annually, were constructed at this port. Its inhabitants numbered forty thousand, most of them dependent upon the "great fishery." The method of pickling herrings, improved by Beukelszoon, a native of Biervliet, was practised also in Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, Delft, Hoorn, Schiedam, Brielle, and Vlaardingen. The produce of this industry was exported all over the world.

The town of Deventer, on the Yssel, was known for trading purposes in the year 882. It was burnt by the Norse pirates, and when rebuilt was often subsequently besieged by contending powers in Holland and Cologne.

It was a free imperial city, well defended, and for a long while a member of the Hanseatic League, a connection which opened to it the trade with Bergen. Deventer also secured trading privileges with Scandinavia. The exports were cattle, corn, butter, cheese, beer, wool, and turf, and there was a busy trade in timber. Coarse manufactures of linen, wool, and carpets also employed the inhabitants.

Kampen, another town on the Yssel, resembled Deventer in the character of its trade. It was once a considerable place, boasting a mercantile marine of one hundred and twenty vessels, and pursuing an active maritime commerce with Holland and the South Netherlands, as well as with more northern states, and also a considerable inland traffic by means of the Rhine. Merchants from England, Germany, and the Baltic assembled in its markets.

Middelburg is a characteristic example of the Dutch towns, which are said to have been in the Middle Ages not parts of the state, but commonwealths in themselves. The municipal charter of Middelburg, bearing date 1213, is the oldest document of the kind extant, except that of Gertruydenberg. Count William II. in 1253, and Count Floris V. in 1271, conferred further privileges upon the town. This place was so flourishing that the English made it, about 1380, a staple or market for the wool trade. Raw wool from England came in free of all customs, the citizens, under the protection of their charter, being "allowed to buy what they liked, where they liked, to live at peace with their neighbours, and to be left alone."\* The wool trade of Middelburg between 1380 and 1390 drew to its mart merchants from Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and this intercourse led to a prosperous trade in wine.

Nimeguen (Nymegen), in Guelderland, in 1050 was noted, with Wyk by Duurstede, for the production of fine cloth of a bright scarlet dye, which had retained its high character

\* "Industrial History of the Dutch," by T. M'Cullagh.



one hundred and twenty years after, when the chief lord of the province stipulated for a yearly tribute of three pieces to the Emperor Frederick. Nimeguen was a member of the Hanse, and was in alliance with Cologne.

Rotterdam, in South Holland, on the Maas, at the confluence of the Rotte, obtained municipal privileges in 1270, extensions of which were secured in 1340 and 1361. William VI. also materially promoted the business of the town. Rotterdam has always ranked as one of the most commercial and populous cities of Holland. It had inland communication, by means of canals, with every other town in the country; and owing to its river, the largest ships could come up close to its quays. Its manufactures of rope and canvas were extensive, and it carried on a large trade in wines and grain. It had salmon fisheries, and was also one of the principal ports for the herring fishery, as well as for trade with France and England.

The inhabitants of Utrecht (*Ultrajectum*) carry their annals back to the Romans; they were early renowned as skilful weavers. They possessed the right of levying troops and coining money. Their industry and power inspired them with such spirit that they burned their city rather than capitulate when attacked by the Norsemen. Utrecht was in the tenth century the seat of a trade with the Rhinelands, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, and the Baltic, possessed commercial relations with Cologne, and was one of the first towns to engage in the wine trade. Besides the weaving of velvet, linen, and wool, the citizens were employed in dyeing and bleaching, and in the making of earthenware, while agriculture was profitably pursued in the vicinity.

Amsterdam, on the Amstel, was in the year 1300 little more than a hamlet, sheltering a few poor fishermen who obtained their scanty living from the Zuyder Zee. The neighbourhood was desolate marsh-land. Upon this unpromising site the city arose, and became in time the capital of the commercial world. This greatness was chiefly due

to advantages derived from its position. The original village offered security to fugitives from Flanders, and their intelligence and skill laid the foundation of manufactures and commerce. In 1313 William III. granted to the Baltic merchants exemption from tolls at Dort—a privilege afterwards extended to Amsterdam. The city joined the Hanse League, and in 1342 an enlargement of the boundaries became necessary. In 1368 the Swedish king gave to Amsterdam important commercial privileges. War was entered upon in 1437 with the Hanse Towns, or Osterlings, resulting in an extension of the trade of the Northern Netherlands, and in the acquisition of new commercial advantages from Sweden, and soon after from Norway and Denmark. In 1452 Amsterdam was burnt down, and a vast quantity of merchandise destroyed. Twenty years sufficed to restore the city, and to render it independent of the Hanse protection, from which it severed itself in 1472. The trade from this date increased rapidly. In 1482 the inhabitants fortified their capital; by 1500, commercial relations had been established with Iceland and Russia. Merchants from every European country met on its exchange, and it owned a mercantile fleet of two hundred sail. Without any native timber, a forest was driven into the ground to build upon, and large fleets were built and maintained. Surrounded by marshy pasture-land, the city was a vast granary, and a storehouse of the fruits of the earth. Fishermen, more expert than elsewhere, made great hauls of herrings, yet no native-grown hemp could be obtained for their nets, or sufficient iron for their fish-hooks. No happy accidents or adventitious circumstances favoured the city, yet "the sea not only bathed its walls, but entered among its streets; and the fleets of its merchantmen, as seen from the ramparts, lay so crowded together, that vision was intercepted by the thick forest of masts and yards."

The ancient foundation of the wealth of the Netherlands

was their fisheries, a pursuit to which their teeming seas and scanty soil alike impelled them. References to this industry occur in connection with every maritime town, and prove it to be, not a merely local, but a great national industry. The herring fishery endowed those engaged in it with hardihood, and rendered them skilful navigators. The abundance of the fish not only supplied home wants, but furnished an article of trade, although the perishable nature of the commodities necessitated the speedy curing of the herrings.

Norwegian chronicles refer to the herring fisheries in the tenth century. Shoals round the Isle of Rugen, in the Baltic, were so numerous in 1124 that a waggon-load of the fish is said to have been valued at a pfenning. This abundance was thought by the simple fishermen to be owing to the sacrifices they offered to Swantovith, their tutelary deity, before casting their nets. Before the twelfth century closed, the fishermen of Zierikzee found shoals as plentiful near Briel, and spon these seas swarmed with shabarts, or herring-boats. Zealanders and Frieslanders fished off the Yarmouth coast at the beginning of the thirteenth century, for in a charter granted by King John to that town they received certain privileges; and leave to fish was afterwards repeated many times in treaties of commerce.

The secret of salting herrings, cod, and ling for export was practised by Peter Chivalier soon after the first charter was given to the town. Twenty marks were paid by Peter de Perars in 1221 for an extension of leave to carry on the art. William Beukelszoon of Biervliet, who died in 1397, has always had the credit of the discovery of a process of curing to which he has given his name.

In 1295 Edward I. renewed to the Dutch the privilege of fishing in the firths of Scotland. Schouwen appears in the fourteenth century to have been frequented by the herring shoals in preference to Rugen. Lubeck and other Hanse Towns found profit in these fishing-grounds.

Kampen, and later Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, and Wieringen, in 1368, took joint possession of a district of Schouwen as herring-curers. Again the herrings changed their haunts, choosing the coasts of Norway as their rendezvous, where Norsemen and Netherlanders alike caught them. These Norse fisheries thrived until 1587, when the apparition of a gigantic herring frightened the shoals away; so at least the credulous fishermen believed.

The art of curing gave a great impulse to the herring fishery. Large takes could now be made with advantage, as nearness to home was not essential. Fishing-nets were increased in size. The first departure from the prescribed dimensions was made by Hoorn or Enkhuizen fishermen in 1416. To float the nets, in the absence of cork, they used a light wood from the Baltic, called toll-hout, afterwards turned to account for buoys, which gave rise to a useful branch of manufacture, and proved far from valueless as an item of commerce.

## II.—SOUTH NETHERLANDS.

The early history of Flemish commerce presents three eras.

The first begins about the year 862, when Baldwin III. induced Frisian weavers to settle in Ghent, already a busy city, and thus laid the foundation of a staple industry. He wisely instituted annual fairs or markets, where no toll was taken for goods, and thus gave great encouragement to trade.

The second is connected with Count Baldwin IV., who in 1203 led the fifth Crusade, and, turning aside to the conquest of Constantinople, was raised to the throne of the Eastern Empire, thus bringing the Flemings into communication with countries hitherto little known.

The third period is that of the Burgundian princes, Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and Maria. It was

Philip the Good who established the Order of the Golden Fleece, and publicly honoured trade and commerce.

The Flemings laboured under the disadvantage of a low and flat coast-line and a scarcity of harbours. Although the land was well watered and suited for inland navigation, the mouths of all the rivers, except the Scheldt, were in the North Netherlands, where transport was hampered by town dues. Flanders and Brabant were, however, more fertile than Holland, and, being so near to France, the agricultural resources of the country afforded more profitable occupation for the inhabitants. Manufactures, also, were established earlier, and took a wider growth than in Holland.

While liberal principles prevailed, the Flemings continued to enrich themselves. Commerce at first was passive on their part; they had few vessels of their own. Italian merchantmen visited Bruges in the year 1300, and Venetian vessels followed a few years afterwards. Genoa, Florence, Ancona, Bologna sent gold and silver lace, silk, cotton, camlets, pearls, oil, and alum; Venice sent spices, drugs and dyes, furs, cottons, and silks. Wines from France, and sugar, yarn, and dye-woods from Catalonia, were subsequently imported. A striking contrast is exhibited between the navigation of the period under review and that of our own day. Catalan vessels occupied six months, Genoese seven, and Venetian eight in making their voyages to and from their several ports and Flanders. Eventually the Flemings carried on a considerable active trade. Floris Berthold, a Flemish merchant, who was described as "richer in gold and silver, gained by means of his great traffic in merchandise, which he sends away by sea and land, than any one else in the world," despatched ships to Alexandria, Cairo, and Syria.

Bruges held the rank of a city in the seventh century. It was the chief trading town of the Netherlands; the emporium of the Hanseatic League, and the centre of the overland German traffic, by which goods

from the Mediterranean and the East were exchanged for the raw produce of England, Norway, Denmark, North Germany, and Russia. Treaties of commerce were signed between Bruges and Spain, Portugal, Scotland, England, the Hanse Towns, Venice, Genoa, and Barcelona. At the end of the thirteenth century its citizens numbered nearly two hundred thousand. Merchants were attracted to the city by the freedom of its markets and the humanity of its government. Shipwrecked mariners received kind attention, piracy was checked, and friendly relations were sought with all foreign states, especially with England. By these means the city flourished, and on occasions of state the citizens were able to display so great magnificence that the envy of sovereigns was aroused.

Manufactures of lace, silks, muslins, damasks, and woollens employed the inhabitants, and these, together with corn, flax, and hemp, were the chief exports. Wool, cotton, timber, and wine constituted the bulk of their valuable imports. The port of Bruges was at first Sluys, but in the twelfth century docks were constructed, capable of holding a thousand sail, at the village of Damme, now a fertile plain not far from the sea. The immense trade and flourishing manufactures of Bruges declined through the altered and selfish policy of its rulers, guildmasters, and others, who bound down the different industries by so many restrictive dues and regulations that contentions often arose. Political contests with the reigning prince, Philip of Burgundy, hastened the decay, and during the war between Flanders and Germany, at the end of the fifteenth century, the harbour became silted up from neglect.

Ghent was next in importance of the Flemish cities, though at one time as densely inhabited as Bruges and Antwerp. It is referred to as a city in the seventh century, and was of much importance in the twelfth as a manufacturing centre. The course of its history resembles that of Bruges, both in the efforts made to trammel trade and in

its frequent intestine commotions. Its guild of weavers was forty thousand strong—the boldest trading corporation in Europe, and for the prosperity of the city ever too ready to test their strength. Other towns in the vicinity of the three great industrial centres just described partook of the same character. Such were Courtray and Ypres, in West Flanders; Oudenarde, in East Flanders; Louvain, in South Brabant; and Mechlin (Malines), in Antwerp. Lille, or Ryssel, was distinguished for the lucrative character and magnitude of its industries. At a festival held by the Duke of Burgundy, in 1454, the lords of the chamber were dressed in silk, and the shield-bearers in satin of Lille make, while the citizens adorned themselves with robes of gold and silk, trimmed with costly furs.

Antwerp existed as a small republic in the eleventh century. It succeeded to a good deal of the trade lost by Bruges, and attained a greater population. From its superior facilities for reaching the sea by the estuary of the Scheldt, upon which it stands, it became a great commercial as well as a manufacturing city, so that the business of a month in Antwerp eventually doubled that of a year of the best days of Venice. Fabrics of flax, wool, and silk were manufactured, as well as carpets of a kind valued for their colours and fineness of texture; weapons and cutlery, gold, silver, and bronze metal-work ranked high for quality; the most eminent tanners and sugar refiners were also to be found here. Antwerp attracted commerce by easy customs dues, and obtained the name of the "Market of the World." Goods were borne to its shores from east, west, north, and south, by land and by sea.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SCANDINAVIA.—RUSSIA.

*Sweden.*—Sweden was in every respect the most important of the three northern kingdoms inhabited by the Scandinavian race. A more extensive country than Norway and Denmark taken together, its power, both political and commercial, in the Middle Ages was correspondingly great. Sweden had possessed herself of the shores of Courland and Esthonia, and planted there a line of Russian kings. In the ninth century Lake Mälär was the site of so prosperous a trade that Biörkö, one of the island cities, could equip an army of fourteen thousand burghers ready for the field, and easily able to contribute one hundred silver marks apiece towards the war. The Dutch traded with this city, bringing linen, cloth, and wine. Biörkö was devastated by St. Olaf in 1008, but such was its extent and solidity that its ruins are still to be found. A similar history attaches to Vineta, a city in the island of Usedom, on the coast of Pomerania. Wisby, in Gothland, flourished by the enterprise of merchants driven from Vineta, and for two hundred years was the chief emporium of the north. It was well placed on an island possessing good harbours, a soil productive of fruits and vegetables, a genial climate, and valuable resources for traffic in corn, lime, timber, pitch, and other forest products. Wisby was a member of the Hanseatic League, and during that connection acquired such commercial greatness, that the "Maritime Law of Wisby" was accepted by most of the commercial nations of the north. These laws were probably a compilation from the earlier "Laws of Oleron," themselves derived from "Il Consolato del Mare." The city



was built of stone, and the houses were often strengthened with iron doors and adorned with gilded windows. There were sixteen churches and five monasteries, and within the walls of the town dwelt twelve thousand burgesses, while the labouring classes, contrary to modern custom, dwelt in the suburbs. Merchants took personally an active part in foreign trade, making voyages in their own vessels, in which, towards the end of the eleventh century, they had already ventured as far as Egypt and the Levant. Traders from all the Baltic provinces, and merchants even from Spain and Greece, were so numerous that special streets, with warehouses and shops, were apportioned to the representatives of the different nations. With the decline of the Hanseatic League, Wisby decayed. Though fallen in magnificence, and containing only four thousand inhabitants, it is still one of the most remarkable places in the north of Europe, covering an extent of ground capable of housing forty or fifty thousand people. There are twelve churches remaining, the beautiful Gothic ruins of which cause them to be much visited by antiquarians. In 1368 the King of Sweden gave the citizens of Amsterdam a district in the island of Schouwen (*i.e.*, the extreme south of the Swedish peninsula), in order to facilitate direct traffic between the Netherlanders and his own subjects. The Swedes received salted fish, woven fabrics, wines, salt, drugs, and spices, in exchange for timber, iron, copper, tar, skins, and tallow. The comparative value of commodities indicative of the different resources of two neighbouring states is preserved in a record of barter, where the Swedes gave six quintals of iron for a barrel of herrings.

*Norway.*—The industry and commerce of Norway have always been centred in Bergen, the ancient capital, which, from its convenient position for carrying on the prolific fisheries of the coast, was enlarged and regularly laid out by Olaf III. in 1070. A treaty of commerce between Bergen and England was signed in 1217, and is interesting as the first record we possess of English foreign trade. Bergen, in

exchange for English goods, gave dried and salt fish, fish oils, tallow, and skins. The commerce of Bergen, however, attained no importance until the city joined the Hanseatic League, of which it formed, with London, Bruges, and Novgorod, one of the chief foreign emporiums. It then rose to opulence and grandeur, was adorned with thirty churches and monasteries and many fine public buildings. Its commerce from that period belongs to the history of the Hanse Towns.

*Denmark.*—The facilities for commerce enjoyed by Denmark were very great. It possessed the key to the Baltic, and was, besides, favourably situated for intercourse with all the maritime states of Europe. It was the first of the Scandinavian kingdoms to engage in foreign trade. Roeskilde, on the island of Zealand, its ancient capital, founded as early as the fourth century, was in the Middle Ages a large town, containing a hundred thousand inhabitants and twenty-seven churches, and for more than a thousand years it continued to be the abode of royalty. The presence of the court encouraged commerce, and till 1440, when the capital was removed to Copenhagen, scarcely another Danish town is mentioned in connection with trade. In the year 1150 a religious fraternity of mercantile warriors was founded, whose duty it was to proselytise as well as to trade. The “Roeskilde Warriors,” as they were called, were particularly enjoined to destroy the Wends of the east coast of the Baltic, whom they hated both as heathens and as rivals in trade. The other towns of Denmark noted in the Middle Ages for their trade were Aalborg, in the north of Jutland, which traded in grain and herrings; Aarhus, in North Jutland; and Helsingör, or Elsinore, formerly the toll-gate of the Sound.

*Russia.*—Russia was the last of the states of Europe to emerge from barbarism. In the Middle Ages a great part of the country was barely known, and many districts now belonging to the empire had not then been conquered. The shores of the Black Sea were visited by Greeks, Byzan-

tines, Venetians, and Genoese, who successively competed for the exhaustless supplies of raw materials, such as forest products, furs, metals, and grain brought down to the maritime depôts situated in the Crimea and at the mouths of the Danube. The rude commerce was so restricted from various causes, that in order clearly to understand it we must learn something of the political history of the country. The name "Russians" included various tribes. The Russian monarchy was established (862) by Ruric, a daring free-booter of the Baltic. He and his brothers were chosen sovereigns over the Slavonian boyards and Finnish tribes, in order to appease their continual feuds. The brothers Inco and Truvor soon died, and left Ruric undisputed monarch. He was a chief of Varangia, a Norse or Scandinavian kingdom founded by Ingvar the Great on the east coast of the Baltic. The Vikings or Varangians called themselves *Rusini*, from the district of Sweden whence they were originally derived, and Ruric's subjects now adopted the same name, and designated their country *Rus*. Skira, son of Ingvar, had chosen Novgorod as his capital, and until 882 it was both the residence of the Russian sovereigns and the principal mart of the kingdom. Novgorod was the centre of an extensive traffic both with Europe and Asia in very early times, and the Greeks traded with the Crimea; but this commercial intercourse never partook of a national character. Its chief trade was with Constantinople, and its natural advantages were a fertile soil, producing grain and fibres; large forests supporting innumerable animals; and navigable rivers flowing into the Euxine. Novgorod retained its commercial importance after the seat of government was removed to Kiev. Its population in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries fell not far short of half a million, of whom thirty thousand boasted that they were skilled in warlike horsemanship. Under Vladimir the Great, who married the daughter of the Greek Emperor Basil II., Novgorod became the emporium of a great commerce, conducted by the

Hanse. As a commercial mart, the city took a new lease when, in 1276, it joined the Hanse. Fairs were held, and a prodigious amount of business was transacted. Until 1475 this great confederacy made Novgorod one of its chief emporiums, when, for offence given to Ivan Vasalovitch (the Great), the city was captured and the exactions levied on the inhabitants gave its trade a death-blow. The fairs fell into disuse. Pskov, near Lake Peïpus, shared the trade and the decay of Novgorod, while Moscow assumed by degrees the commercial importance which had belonged to both. The great market-place of Moscow, soon known as the "Hostinoydvor" or Strangers' Court, was furnished with five thousand counters or benches of stone. Encircled by a boundless steppe, and enjoying excellent water communication, the trade of Moscow was unimpeded throughout the year; boats or rafts formed the means of communication in summer, and in winter, sledges driven over the frozen snow. Kiev, the second capital of Russia, situated on the Dnieper, and regarded as the sacred city of the Greek Church, the Jerusalem of the North, traded with Constantinople and with the Italian cities to an extent perhaps greater than either Novgorod or Moscow. Kazan was the chief entrepôt of the trade of Northern and Central Asia. It was the capital of an independent Tartar state, and though connected with Russia by trade, it was not annexed until the year 1552, by Ivan IV. The plains of Kazan are fertile, and afford rich pastures for cattle, the rearing of which, together with fishing, are the chief native occupations. The civilising influences of commercial intercourse were slow in penetrating Russia. Novgorod and Pskov were the only towns which possessed the privilege of a free market; all other marts were so fettered that trade could not flourish. The boyards, as the Russian nobles were called, kept aloof from intercourse with foreigners. It was not, indeed, till the time of Peter the Great that Russian prejudices were broken down.

## CHAPTER X.

### *I. — GERMANY.*

By German commerce is meant the traffic of the regions of the Danube and the Rhine. During the Roman occupation it had steadily expanded. The vine was cultivated in the reign of the Emperor Probus, A.D. 276 to 282, at which time grain was imported from Britain. For a considerable interval, however, after the fall of the Roman empire, commerce cannot be said to have existed in Germany, for there was neither security nor peace to encourage labour and trade. Not until the nations began to be settled, and to be illumined with the light of Christianity, did husbandry spread and the natural resources of the land become utilised. Germany is indebted for its earliest prosperity to the monks, whose quiet retreats, here as elsewhere, were the sanctuaries of learning and the abodes of industry. Charlemagne, in the intervals of war, turned his far-sighted policy towards the improvement of agriculture and handicrafts. He made the nuns fill up their time with spinning, and settled on his own numerous estates goldsmiths and silver-smiths, leather-workers, turners, carriage-builders, cutlers, soap-boilers, bakers, and brewers, and established schools of weaving and dyeing. The nature of the commerce of Germany may be inferred from its geographical position. It must have been overland and river traffic, and at first intermediate, that is, the articles of trade were those of foreign countries. The native products were little more than coarse cloths, linen, beer, and Rhenish wines. Of coast-line the country had but small strips on the Baltic and North Seas. Venice, therefore, was the gate

through which Southern and Oriental commodities reached Germany, and the cities of the Low Countries became the entrepôts of Northern produce. Eventually, however, German commerce was considerably extended. The importance of the sea-coast to a trading country is to be seen in the fact that one of the oldest trading stations of Germany was that of Vineta, in the estuary of the river Oder, to which allusion has been made. Its harbour would hold three hundred ships. Vineta traded with Scandinavia, Russia, and Poland, on the one hand, and on the other with Greece, the Levant, Independent Tartary, India, and China. The town was cosmopolitan in law as well as trade, and every one visiting it was free to worship according to his creed. Attracted by its wealth, Vineta was pillaged by the Swedes and Danes in 811 and in 830, and Magnus, king of Denmark, razed it to the ground in 1043. Its ruins now cover miles of ground in Usedom. Dragovit, in Holstein, and Old Lubeck are both mentioned in the eighth century as commercial towns. Bardewick, near Luneburg, was favoured by Charlemagne, who made a road through Thuringia and Franconia to Bavaria, thus connecting this town with Celle and Magdeburg, and facilitating the transport of goods between North and South Germany. This able ruler likewise planned a canal to unite the Rhine and the Danube.

Henry the Fowler (918—936), turning his attention to the mineral resources of Germany, promoted mining with such success that after the year 987 gold to the value of ten thousand marks was obtained annually from the diggings on the Eule. Most of the early trade was conducted by the Jews, who, everywhere oppressed, could only accumulate portable wealth, especially in the form of money. The monks also, enriched as they were with the gifts of the devout, and bound to industry by their vows, undertook some part of the German trade. The profits thus made were not unfrequently confiscated wholly or in part by war-

like rulers, for the support of their soldiers. The roads were beset with freebooting knights, who, through profuse living, were unable to support themselves on their regular revenues, and, little better than highway robbers, exacted arbitrary tolls and plundered the merchants. They built strong castles out of a common fund, shared the proceeds of their plunder, and were in continual conflict with the trading towns. Their prodigality and rapacity were boundless, and the emperor's mandates were openly disregarded. Occasionally they resorted to piracies at sea. To suppress this lawless state of things, the emperors assumed the protection of the market towns, appointing a governor, and raising a glove on the market-cross of each place as a token that hostilities were forbidden. Traders travelled in company, with swords hung from their saddle-bows. Rich and powerful cities, such as Vienna, Ratisbon, Ulm, Augsburg, and Nürnberg, maintained bodies of soldiers, who formed an integral portion of the imperial army, and who gained expertness in the use of arms by defending themselves on commercial journeys between their own flourishing towns and Constantinople or Italy. The towns formed leagues amongst themselves for mutual protection. Three such unions are of historic note—the Rhine, the Swabian, and the Hanse Leagues.

The *Rhine League* comprised the trading towns in the south-west of Germany and the lower Rhine provinces, as Cologne, Wessel, and Munster. Cologne was powerful and wealthy, and of ancient foundation, with flourishing manufactures and commerce, a population of one hundred and fifty thousand, and an armed force of thirty thousand men. It was the meeting-place or market for the trade flowing through the whole of the Rhine lands.

The *Swabian League* included at first the trading towns of the Danubian states, as well as the whole circle of Swabia, now divided into Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden. This circle was enriched by the river traffic, and the towns of

Augsburg, Ratisbon, Ulm, Nürnberg, Constance, Eslingen, Reutlingen, and Kempten grew prosperous thereby. Subsequently a still more profitable trade was pursued with the republics of Italy, and the Swabian League even extended its ramifications to the south of Russia. The towns of the league were industrial as well as commercial, and retained for their own use many of the manufactured productions of North Germany, as well as the Oriental commodities which passed through Italy, in exchange for textile fabrics and metal-work. The burghers became so wealthy that they were able to entertain kings. Augsburg was the home of merchant-princes, who on more than one occasion maintained an army, or made an equivalent contribution, for the service of their sovereign.

The *Hanseatic League* derives its name from the Low Latin "hansa," used by King John in charters granted to several English towns, as York and Dunwich ; or "hanse," a term applied in Germany to a guild or confederation. Werdenhagen believed the term to be compounded of three words, viz., An-der-See, *i.e.*, on or by the sea, because the first union consisted of maritime cities only. Be that as it may, the union of the Hanse Towns exceeded all the other leagues of the Middle Ages. Its earliest magazines were only on the Baltic, but the reputation of the security and welcome offered to its members spreading amongst merchants who had heretofore been obliged to conduct in person every costly venture, the Hanse rapidly increased. The original members of the league did not exceed a dozen towns, of which Lubeck stood at the head, while Bremen and Hamburg ranked next. An astonishing success marked its history during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Wherever its factories appeared commerce thrived. Its care extended to both land and sea traffic, and agencies were appointed in the Hanse Towns with the special view of developing foreign trade. In 1267, by permission of Henry III., a settlement was established in London.



1418 the French cities of Rouen, Bordeaux, and St. Malo were enrolled as confederate cities; Barcelona and Cadiz, Leghorn and Messina, also entered into like alliances for reciprocal privileges. The league was governed by a Diet, meeting every three years in Lubeck, the time of meeting being known as the Hanse Days. Lubeck, Dantzic, Riga, Cologne, Munster, Deventer, Magdeburg, Brunswick, and Hildesheim were the capitals of Hanse provinces during the time of its greatest authority, and these cities alone possessed the right of signing privileges of membership in the league, which they did on stated quarterly days. Every town was called upon for its quota of men and money, to resist aggression and to punish offending nations. The average annual contribution amounted to two thousand and sixty-nine thalers. Among the Hanse factories (afterwards permanent settlements) in foreign parts, those of London, Bergen, Bruges, and Novgorod were the most important. They were governed by laws as stringent as those which ruled monastic life; marriage was forbidden to the officials, that their minds might not be diverted from their duty to their employers. The influence of the agents and their servants was so great as sometimes to override the local laws. The towns enrolled were classified, in accordance with their nationality and geographical position, into four districts, forming a northern, a southern, a western, and an eastern group, known respectively as the Wendish, Saxon, Westphalian, and Prussian quarters.

*The Wendish Quarter.*—Mecklenburg and Pomerania, the original nucleus of the entire Hanse, embraced the towns of the lower Elbe and Holstein, a territory which, though now German in language, was then Wendish or Slavonic. It contained Lubeck, "the Queen and Princess of the League," the seat of the central government, and depository of the public archives and treasury; also Anklam, Hamburg, Greifswald (the capital of the Upper Wendish subdivision), and the towns of Kolberg, Luneberg, Stettin, Straalsund,

Rostock, Rugenvelde, Stade, Stargard, Stolpe, Wisby, Kiel, and Wismar.

The *Saxon Quarter* included the towns lying south of the Wendish division, or Saxony in its ancient wide sense, from the Weser to the Oder. Its capital was Brunswick, and among its other towns were Magdeburg, Berlin, Frankfurt-on-Oder, Ascherleben, Breslau, Eimbeck, Gottingen, Goslar, Halberstadt, Halle, Hameln, Hanover, Helmstadt, Hildesheim, Lemgo, Nordheim, Quedlinburg, Salzvedel, and Stendal.

The *Westphalian Quarter* embraced the towns of the Rhineland especially, together with Westphalia and the Netherlands. Cologne was its leading city, and the towns of Amsterdam, Arnheim, Bremen, Bolsvard, Briel, Deventer, Dordrecht or Dort, Dortmund, Duisburg, Groningen, Hardewyk, Kampen, Middelburg, Muiden, Munster, Nimeguen, Osnabruck, Stavoren, Paderborn, Roermonde, Zierikzee, Zutphen, Wessel, and Zwolle belonged to this important and populous quarter.

The *Prussian Quarter* included the towns of the far east, viz., those of Old Prussia (not to be confounded with the modern kingdom of that name), Livonia, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Poland. Dantzic was the capital of this quarter, and among its members were Königsberg, Riga, Dorpat, Revel, Krakau, Elbing, Thorn, and Kulm.

From the constitution of the Hanse, the numbers of towns of which it was composed, as well as those in alliance with it, varied from time to time. Those mentioned above were the members in the fourteenth century.

## II.—HANSEATIC LEAGUE.

1. *Old Prussia, or Eastern Division.*—Trade with this province of the Hanse originated in 1309, after the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights had subdued the Lettish tribes possessing the country, and had forced them to adopt

Christianity. Some German colonists who accompanied him quickly perceived the resources of the country, and devoted themselves to trade. The natives, excluded from manufactures and commerce, were compelled to engage in agriculture and cattle-rearing. The traffic in corn and timber was considerable; that in beer, mead, amber, cloth, and iron stood next. Marienburg was chosen as the seat of government, and its old castle is still an object of interest to the traveller. Thorn, Elbing, and Königsberg were the depots of commerce. A battle took place in 1410, as a result of which the territory was converted into a Polish fief. Connection with the Hanse, however, was still maintained, and the prosperity derived from trade was but slightly affected.

2. *Esthonia and Livonia*.—A similar blending of proselytising zeal and commerce brought the heathen races of these parts under the power of a fraternity of Bremen traders, calling themselves Knights of the Sword. After this rude conversion the people were taught some of the industrial arts. The Knights of the Sword were eventually absorbed by the Teutonic Knights. In Russia the Hanse found a field of enterprise almost uncultivated. Timber, grain, flax, hemp, ropes, skins, furs, Russian leather, wax and tallow, and raw forest products, could be bartered to an indefinite extent for salt herrings and serge for the labourers, and jewels, wines, and brocades for the wealthy. The first factory in Russia was at Riga, the trade of which was especially encouraged by Archbishop Albert. Novgorod at a later date was chosen a member of the league by the Diet, with a provision thenceforward applicable throughout the league that only a native of Lubeck should be the secretary of a factory, although any free burgher might be an alderman. A decree at the same time interdicted all trade on credit with the Russians, under a penalty of fifty marks for every such transaction. Novgorod was resorted to as a residence by many German traders, and soon grew into a

great and wealthy town. Continual conflicts with the Grand Dukes of Muscovy checked its later growth, and drove many of the Germans to the rival emporium of Dorpat, in Livonia. The ramifications of this division of the Hanse trade extended up the Neva, through Lake Ladoga, the river Volchoff, and Lake Ilmen. The transport of goods was almost exclusively conducted by Lubeck.

3. *Sweden*.—The kingdom of Sweden took no active part in commerce during the Middle Ages, and the inhabitants, compared with other European states, had made but little progress. Nevertheless, its kings, by wisely offering freedom of trade, induced traders from every part of the world to bring goods for barter against the raw produce of the country. Lubeck, Hamburg, and other towns were exempted about the year 1250 from wharfage and customs dues, and in the fourteenth century, by the favour of Eric Valdemar and Magnus of Sweden, the Hanseatic traders resident in the country were put on a footing of equality with the king's own subjects. There was a reciprocal benefit in these extensive privileges, for the Swedish sovereigns thus obtained the powerful aid of the Hanse against the Danes, who had conquered Schouwen, the fairest part of the kingdom, and the best suited for commerce. It was the greatest resort of herring shoals then known. While Denmark held this province, Sweden was shut out from profitable fisheries, having no place near for the necessary operations of drying, smoking, salting, packing, and shipping the produce. For the varied freights that the Hanse traders offered Sweden she gave in exchange iron and copper, timber, pitch, ashes, and hemp. The market-places of Skänor and Falsterbro monopolised the principal portion of the trade. The latter was the port of the Danish island of Falster, called from its fertility the orchard of Denmark.

4. *Norway*.—Bergen, on the Norwegian coast, was one of the four foreign factories maintained by the Hanse. As

a trading station it was important not only to the country in which it was situated, but to the league itself. Concentrated in Bergen was the commerce with Iceland, Greenland, the Faröes, and the Scottish Isles, consisting of skins, timber, resin, feathers, herrings, salted fish, and fish oils. Bergen was not gained over by Hanseates with such ease and rapidity as other towns. Some privileges were granted to the settlers for services rendered against the Norse pirates; but others had to be wrested from the Norwegian kings. In course of time the traders by purchase obtained possession of the old town, which they joined to the new one by a bridge. The factory they reared was an establishment of great magnitude. It consisted of twenty-two courts, in blocks of nine and thirteen, each court capable of accommodating fifteen households. Apprentices from the Hanse Towns came to Bergen, to be taught the business of a merchant. With the half-barbaric customs of the age, they were made to pass through the cruel ordeals of "the fire, the smoke, and the scourge," as a part of their training. In spite of these precautions, the Hanseates are described as extremely licentious, and as incessantly engaged in broils with the citizens. They proceeded so far in 1456 as to put to death the governor and the bishop, who had offended them, together with sixty of the inhabitants. Yet it was not until a hundred and five years later that the power of the Hanseates was destroyed by the vigorous measures of the reigning sovereign (Frederick II.) of Denmark.

5. *Denmark*.—The attitude of Denmark to the Hanseatic League was one of war rather than of trade. There was seldom peace between them; each in turn being the aggressor. Valdemar III., of Denmark, in 1361 attacked Wisby, or Wisboro, a wealthy Hanseatic town in Gothland. Enraged at losing eighteen hundred of his troops in the siege, he utterly destroyed the town, and provoked thereby the retaliation of the Hanse. Before the year expired he received seventy-seven declarations of war from the German Hanse

towns. His fleet was defeated, and he was compelled to sue for peace. Soon afterwards the war was renewed, and lasted until 1370. In this interval an army of sixteen thousand citizens of Lubeck, commanded by Everhard von Mose and Gotschalk von Attendorn, two of the city senators, gained much renown. The Hanseates deprived Denmark of Schouwen, and compelled Copenhagen, Elsinore, Nyköping, and Falsterbro to capitulate.

6. *The Netherlands*.—The Dutch were not slow to perceive the benefit of union with the Hanseatic League. Dort, Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, in Holland; Nimeguen, Zutphen, and Harderwyk, in Guelderland; Zwolle, Kampen, and Deventer, in Overysse, joined the federation. The Hanseates, on their part, were equally ready to buy and sell in the Dutch markets, using their own vessels for transport. They here met foreign merchants, with whom they carried on a considerable trade, especially that connected with the Mediterranean, which was beyond the reach of their own direct personal enterprise. In the South Netherlands, Flanders and Brabant vied with each other in the welcome they offered the Hanseates. Louis of Flanders interdicted them from acting as bankers, but otherwise left commerce free. Antwerp, in 1315, promoted a commercial treaty, under the auspices of John, Duke of Brabant, and the example was followed in 1360 by Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges. In all these cities the Hanseatic traders were brought into contact with civilisation more advanced than their own. They met with institutions better than those which they themselves possessed, and learnt new principles of business. One example, among others, was that of the Insurance Chamber at Bruges, the utility of which, now universally recognised, was a new discovery to these Northern merchants.

7. *England*.—Henry III., as we have seen, permitted an entrepôt under the rule of the league to be instituted in London in the year 1267, and conferred upon the Hanse

traders exemption from the duties on grain.' The Hanse community accepting these terms was so numerous as to establish a government of its own, consisting of an alderman, two suppliants, and nine councillors. In consideration of these and other privileges, the Germans undertook to maintain one of the city gates, and to defend it in time of war.

8. *France*.—Several French cities have been mentioned as among the number of the Hanse Towns; very little trade, however, was carried on with them. Beyond the limits of the usual Hanse trade, the waters were infested with pirates. The policy of heavy shore dues was also blindly enforced by France. Wine and salt, the chief commodities that the country could provide, were to be obtained elsewhere. Rhenish wine was drunk in preference to French, and was a staple commodity in the Netherlands.

9. *Spain*.—Cadiz and Barcelona were in alliance with the league for mutual defence, but were not enrolled as members. The direct trade with Spain was more limited even than that with France. Indirectly, Spanish produce was obtainable through the Netherlands, which country was for a long time an appanage of the sovereigns of Spain.

### *III.—INFLUENCE AND UTILITY OF THE HANSE.*

IN order to sustain the prestige of the league and to enforce compliance with its mandates, the noblemen and most eminent burghers of every city trained themselves for cavalry service, while the citizens or lower ranks formed the infantry, and were armed with bows, cross-bows, battle-axes, maces, and lances. Martial ardour was kept up by reviews. In addition to citizen soldiers, the large trading towns employed mercenary troops, both horse and foot, sometimes so numerous as to form an army in themselves. These forces were used not only to crush the German freebooters, but for sea service against hostile states, and against pirates. Among the

latter the Baltic was scourged by the "Victualler-Brethren," or "Vitaliers," whose chief seat was Embden, in Hanover, and who were encouraged in their piracies by the Count of Oldenburg. Hamburg, the chief sufferer from these pests of the sea, was mainly instrumental in their extermination.

Although barter had to be adopted in the commercial intercourse of the league with the uncivilised Northern races, yet coin was in extensive use, and many of the Hanseatic towns possessed their own mints. There was no common standard, but the coins of several of the towns were current through a large district. Those of Lubeck, for example, served for Holstein, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the Wendish towns. Gold was employed in the settlement of large accounts, and silver was often weighed by the mark. The system of credit, which has been such a powerful stimulus to production in recent times, appears scarcely to have been known. Bills of exchange were not in use, and the precious metals were necessarily carried to and fro in the same way as merchandise.

Security and peace, the vital elements of commercial prosperity, were the first-fruits of this federation. Princes were taught the duty of respect for property at a time when the lesson was especially needed, and subjects learnt how much could be done by self-dependence, perseverance, honourable dealings, and co-operation. The necessity for a code of maritime law to regulate the conduct of men removed from state control, particularly in relation to shipwrecks and war, had been long felt. The laws of Wisby and Oleron were promulgated, the principles being gathered from the earlier code of Barcelona, which, in turn, was the revival of that of Rhodes, acted upon for ages by the Romans. These laws regulated for many ages the commerce of Europe, and their spirit animates the maritime codes of our own day.



## CHAPTER XI.

### SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

THE Middle Ages, or the period between ancient and modern civilisation, lasted from the end of the fifth century to the end of the fifteenth, a period of about a thousand years. A deluge had overwhelmed the moral corruption of antiquity. Floating upon the turbulent waters, the ark of the Church preserved the relics of industry, art, learning, and purity of life : the caliphs co-operated.

The feudal system had its origin in the period of anarchy following the irruptions of the Goths and Huns. Distinction amongst the great was measured by their landed possessions and the number of their vassals. War was the only means of increasing property, and bands of idle retainers were kept, ever ready to obey the behests of their chief. Europe was obscured in a mist of prejudices, superstition, and ignorance. Literature was almost unknown. The native inhabitants were reduced to serfdom, and the land became the property of chieftains, who divided it under feudal tenure among their vassals. Labour being the heritage of slaves, whose interest was to do as little as possible, there was in work no elevating principle comparable to the dignity supposed to attach to war. The same false belief that fighting was the worthiest human occupation prevailed, as among the Greeks and Romans. The degradation of serfdom was for a long while unrelieved, for lords and slaves were equally ignorant. Industry, like learning, was free only in the hands of the monks. Whether imposed for the purpose of self-mortification, or

adopted by them through a true insight into its humanising influences, it was pursued with pious devotion, and became an important element in the salvation of Europe. Then arose monastic guilds\* and grades of handicrafts, from masonry with its mystic symbolism, developed in cathedrals too grand for our imitation, to the simple cultivation of the soil.

Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, styled in the legends the "apostle of Pomerania," visited that country in 1124 for the purpose of converting the inhabitants. He observed that the art of making hydromel or mead was well understood, but it was thought unbecoming to substitute that liquor for wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. When he returned in 1128 he brought with him a large cask filled with young vines, which were planted by his directions, in order that he might be enabled to administer wine to the converts; for at that period laymen as well as ecclesiastics partook of the communion in both kinds. It is owing to the same cause that the culture of the vine was introduced with Christianity into several northern countries. Moehsen affirms that the difficulty of obtaining wine in the North, otherwise than by commerce or an expensive cultivation, gave rise to the custom of communicating in one kind. "Thus," says that writer, "necessity brought about a sophism, by which the most solemn of all the institutions founded by the Author of Christianity was changed in its mode of administration."

While a new order of things prevailed in the central, southern, and western regions of Europe, the eastern Roman, or Byzantine Empire, though declining in power, remained nominally unchanged. Constantinople and Alexandria shared between them the remnant of universal interchange, and originated the first subdivision of the mediæval period—that of Byzantine and Arab commerce, lasting to the year 1100. The second subdivision was that of the Venetian

\* *Origin of Guilds.* Appendix K.

and Hanseatic commerce, lasting to the year 1500, the Crusades being the connecting link between the two.

Charlemagne for nearly half a century ruled a new and mighty empire, its form modelled upon that of the Romans. His authority, however, was personal, not constitutional, and died with him, while his empire fell to pieces. Civilisation, nevertheless, advanced during his reign. While petty shopkeepers and operatives remained thralls, wholesale dealers and merchants formed a caste of freemen or patrician citizens, to whom were given rights of coinage, customs, markets, warehouses, and other privileges, which developed into fellowships or leagues for the maintenance of rights when once won, for mutual defence against predatory and oppressive barons. Such were the Rhine and Swabian Leagues, afterwards absorbed in the Hanse, and the industrial guilds or city companies of London and other great commercial centres.

The rise of the Mohammedan power was momentous to the world. One century from the advent of the prophet, A.D. 622, sufficed for an obscure tribe of Arabs, under the name of Saracens, to extend their power and subjugate more of the world than had ever owned the sway of the Romans. Converted to Islamism, the various tribes appeared imbued with the military as well as the fanatical ardour of their subduers, and, as Turcomans or Turks (a Tartar tribe), spread in another wave of conquest from the East, while the Moors from the north of Africa (Mauritania) ravaged Spain. The Arabs were distinguished in commerce and learning as well as in war. They established themselves round the whole of the shores of the Mediterranean. Their trading ventures extended over the regions from China to the Atlantic, and the results were more magnificent than any which the Phœnicians attained.

The progress of the Crescent in Europe roused political alarm and religious antagonism, and a burning resolve bound the soldiers of the Cross to rid the Continent of the Infidels, as well as to rescue the holy places of Palestine.

The Crusades extended over two hundred years, a period of many important social changes in European history. Great as was the loss of life and treasure, many benefits accrued therefrom to Europe, which had fewer of the arts of civilisation to teach than to learn. First, the natural resources of Europe bore no comparison with those of Asia. From the soil were obtained the bare necessities of life, securing in the rudest fashion the essentials of food, warmth, and rest. Of substances used for food there were grain, flesh, and salt, in coarse abundance ; but the indigenous fruits were few and unimproved. Wine was scarcely known, and the taste for spices had yet to be acquired. For clothing, linen and woollens were the only fabrics woven. Cotton and silk were as little used as diamonds and pearls. Acquaintance with these things, formerly confined to courts, excited a desire for them on the part of the Christians who had seen their profusion among the more refined nations of the East.

The Venetians and the Genoese, together with the Pisanese and the citizens of Marseilles and Barcelona, became the purveyors of food, clothing, and arms, as well as the owners of the transport vessels for the Crusaders, and reaped thereby large profits. Following in the wake of the armies, they rivalled each other in concluding treaties, erecting factories, and founding settlements even on the enemy's shores ; and the products of their enterprise were dispersed through Europe. Conflicts for the supremacy of the Mediterranean were frequent, and often of an involved character. Venice finally beat all her rivals, acquired a foremost place among the powers of Europe, extended her possessions to the furthest shores of the Levant, and supplied the Western nations with the costly merchandise of India and Asia. Jealousies amongst the Italian cities, giving rise to wars, could not undo the great advantages derived from the new commodities imported into Europe, nor their general diffusion. Silk dresses, spices, perfumes,

came into common use among the wealthy; and food, clothing, and household arrangements underwent a complete revolution. Woollens employed a multitude of workmen in Florence and Catalonia. The rearing of the silk-worm gave rise to a staple of wealth in Italy and France. The Levantine commerce vivified the manufactures of Flanders, and the northern commerce in turn enlivened that of the Levant. In the north of Europe arose the Hanseatic League, which, originally founded for the repression of Danish piracy, monopolised in the end the commerce of Germany, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Norway, and England, and entered into a close relationship with Venice.

Italy was the first to exhibit the growth of new tastes, which, as they spread through Europe, changed the aspect of social life. The nobles, diverted from fighting, displayed their wealth in dress and equipage. Their retainers gradually became peaceable labourers and handicraftsmen, and their descendants have placed within the reach of the poor of modern times many things either unobtainable, or obtainable only with great cost and difficulty even by the emperors of Rome. Serfdom was broken by the power of a circulating capital, of metallic in lieu of "live" money. The payment of wages produced among the workmen in the towns an ever-extending industry, wealth, and, as a consequence, personal freedom. The more fortunate position of their fellow-countrymen in the towns roused the envy of the rural bondmen. At every convenient opportunity numbers escaped from their lords and took refuge in the towns, where after a residence of a year and a day they were recognised as *freemen* and *citizens*. Oftentimes the burghs fought in defence of these fugitives. Domestic habits were greatly altered, and the desire for Oriental luxuries stimulated husbandry and every form of handicraft, to provide exchangeable commodities.

There were not wanting rulers who viewed the revival of

commerce with alarm, and who enacted sumptuary laws, copied from those of Rome, concerning the number of guests, the variety of viands, and the cost of entertainments. In our own country, for instance (1377), only two courses, and two kinds of food at each course, were permitted by law, except at festivals. Furs and silks were prohibited to any one with an income of less than £100 a year. Foreign cloth was to be worn only by members of the royal family. Henry IV. restricted the breadth of the toes of shoes to six inches. Edward IV. commanded that only lords should wear a short mantle. An edict against gilt spurs and bridles was issued in Ireland (1447); and any one was empowered to seize and keep for his own use horses caparisoned contrary to law. Such measures are always impolitic and radically bad. Where people are inclined to extravagance, sumptuary laws are powerless to check it; they are met by bad habits and evasion, but they cannot alter dispositions.

As religious fanaticism wore away, treaties of commerce began to be framed with the Saracen rulers in Syria, Tunis, Tripoli, and other parts of the Asiatic and African coasts, and thus the maritime traffic became extended and improved. The result on the land traffic of Europe was remarkable. Every Mediterranean port served as a centre for the diffusion of the fruits of labour. Extensive commerce was incompatible with feudalism. The wealth arising from industry and trade, which belonged to a class whose property was at the mercy of their lords, was distinguished from land or real property by the name of chattels or movable property. The traders in towns, anxious to retain the produce of their labour, learned to take advantage of their lord's necessities, and to make bargains with him for privileges, whenever he demanded from them a grant in aid. The burden of the Crusades fell upon the burgher class, and during their continuance the demand for aid was often repeated, with growing power on the part of the traders to

make terms, and with lessening capacity on the part of the barons to resist. Towards the end of the period the barons were reduced in numbers and resources ; the kingly power had increased ; but there had arisen a more enlightened and opulent middle class, by whom the future of Europe was destined to be controlled. Politically, the Crusades are memorable for the blow given to feudalism, for the dignity conferred on labour, for the assertion of municipal rights, and for the recognition of a new power in the state—that of personal property, in contradistinction to the ownership of land held by the various feudal tenures. The social and intellectual benefits derived from intercourse with the East have ever since influenced European manners and customs. The rudeness of Europe was softened by contact with Oriental refinement. Language was enriched by many new words from a pure, flexible, and copious tongue, in whose accents alone lived poetry and learning. From the Arabs Europe obtained the Arabesque style of architecture and ornamentation ; the long-lost treasures of classical literature, comprising the history, poetry, and philosophy of Greece and Rome ; together with astronomy, astrology, chemistry, the Arabic numerals, and algebra. Navigation, and therefore commerce, pursued with an ardour never before witnessed, received the greatest impetus, when men learned to guide their course by the mysterious power of the magnet. Improved shipbuilding followed, and, as a consequence, an ever greater and more equable distribution of the gifts and blessings of nature.

The Arabs succumbed but partially to the Crusaders. The caliphs, however, yielding to their love of retirement and refinement, neglected the art of government, and formed a body-guard of mercenary troops. Such pusillanimity and indolence left them open to the attacks of the Turks, whose resistless encroachments were not stayed until, in 1453, Constantinople fell and the Byzantine empire came to an end.

The cessation of the Crusades found Europe in a condition of intellectual twilight, which, for two centuries, gave increasingly brighter promise of the daybreak of modern civilisation. This interval was crowded with events, the fruition of influences to which the Crusades gave birth. There was felt a restless dissatisfaction with the narrow present, and a feverish desire to explore the unknown. Travel and intercourse with races of different habits, creeds, and attainments, had widened the scope of human ideas and set men thinking. Social, physical, and spiritual questions were equally the subject of investigation. As municipalities grew in wealth and influence, and united in trade-leagues, and their several industries became formed into fellowships or guilds, industrial and maritime legislation became a necessity. In consequence of the growing necessities of commerce, coinage was subjected to stricter regulation, bills of exchange and banking were regulated by law, while clearer ideas on the subject of interest and usury began to prevail. The prescriptive customs or unwritten law of the sea—the ancient usages of the Mediterranean states—were systematized in the church of St. Sophia, at Barcelona, and agreed to as the established code or statutes of the sea—*il consolato del mare*.

Inventions and discoveries that have transformed the course of industry distinguish this period of transition. Gunpowder, the invention of Roger Bacon, or of Berthold Schwarz, about 1280, changed the weapons and tactics of war, and altered the relations between states. From its introduction is to be dated the origin of standing armies, taxation to maintain the soldiery, and consequently constitutional government, with more effectual protection to property. Feudalism was still further weakened, while industrial, commercial, municipal, and monarchical power grew apace, and shared in the authority and responsibility of government. The art of printing, due to Guttenberg, about 1440, combined with that of paper-making, multiplied



facilities for the acquisition and preservation of knowledge, and directly led to the great emancipation from priestly thralldom of which the Reformation was the exponent. Heretofore the map of the world contained no more than the northern part of a single hemisphere, and the equator was the southern limit of geographical knowledge, while of the polar regions nothing was known. The improvement of the mariner's compass, from a magnetic needle on a floating piece of wood to a scientific instrument of inestimable utility to mariners, which opened to human enterprise a southern and a western hemisphere, is attributed to Flavia Gioja, a citizen of Amalfi. Before this time the magnetic points were significantly known as "the hot" and "the cold" poles, in reference to the geographical limits of our knowledge of the earth. Yet from the middle of the fourteenth to that of the fifteenth century, the compass was scarcely used beyond the Mediterranean. The Atlantic was still an unknown expanse of waters; and as to the west coast of Africa, "He who would pass Cape Nun would either return or not," according to a proverb which meant that a wise man would alter his mind before penetrating into regions situated about three hundred miles from Gibraltar. There were indeed traditions extant that the Phœnicians six centuries before the Christian era had sailed round Africa by way of the Indian Ocean, returning through the Pillars of Hercules and the Mediterranean Sea. The desire to circumnavigate that continent was checked solely by fear of its perils. Plato relates a legend, said to have been derived through Solon from the Egyptian priests, of the island of Atlantis, which possessed a numerous population and was adorned with every beauty. Its princes had invaded Africa and Europe, and had been defeated by the Athenians, while Atlantis was subsequently swallowed up by the ocean in a day and a night, as a punishment for the impiety of its inhabitants. Whether this legend arose from the vague belief of antiquity

in Western lands, or from Phœnician voyages to the Canaries and the Azores, is undetermined. The followers of the geocentric doctrine, that the earth is the centre of the universe and the most important body in it, were stoutly opposed by the disciples of the Copernican or heliocentric doctrine, who maintained that the sun is the centre of the solar system, and the earth a small planet. Commercial and scientific reasons, as well as the cravings of intelligent inquirers, urged on maritime discovery. To reach India by ship meant saving the cost of overland transit, and of relading. It meant also the giving to the Atlantic states a pre-eminence over the commercial republics of Italy.

Venetian and Genoese voyagers first displayed their growing confidence by passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and trading as far north as the city of Bruges. The experience thus gained gave them the daring and skill necessary for sailing to the mythic lands of the south. Some of the islands of the African coast (*Hesperidum Insulæ*) were known to the ancients; but, although their soil was found to be rich, they were not colonised. In the year 1200, the Genoese ventured as far as the Canary Islands, but were as little impressed as their predecessors with the value of the discovery, for they did not revisit them for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

Portuguese enterprise, rewarded for a century's patient effort by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the commerce of India, spurred the neighbouring Spaniards to the still more wonderful discovery of the New World, when two hemispheres until then in ignorance of the existence of each other began to possess a common history and mutual interdependence.

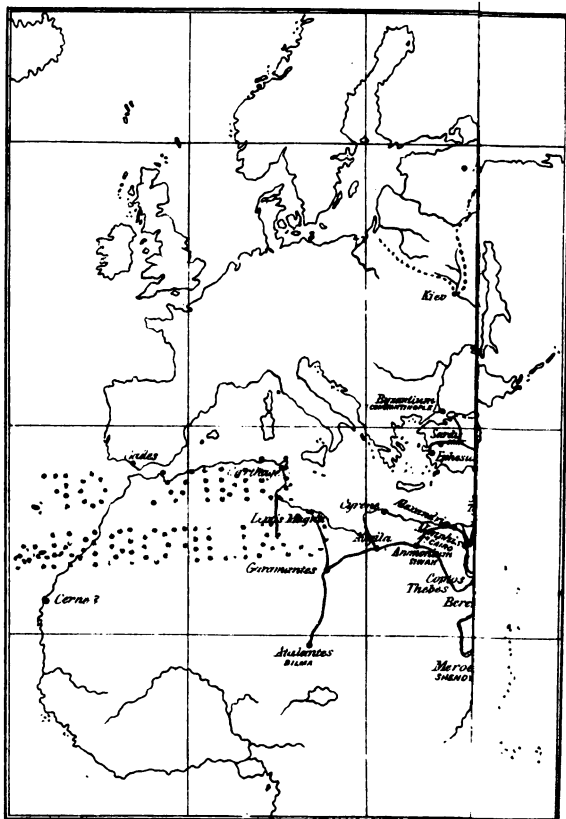
The aristocratic republic of Venice had declined before the genius of Vasco de Gama, and Columbus had given a new direction to commerce and sealed the doom of the capital of the commercial world. The advance of the Turks had led to continual wars, a life-and-death struggle before

which the Venetian merchants slowly retreated, yielding their Oriental trading stations to their ceaseless assailants, who closed successively the various channels of intercourse with India, and, after the capture of Constantinople, left the republic only an intermittent trade through Alexandria, which was subject to the caprice of the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, and was also under the ban of the Pope.

With the fortunes, as with the trade of Venice, the Hanseatic League was identified, and the overthrow of the first was one of the main causes of the gradual disintegration of the second. Trade was transferred from the Mediterranean to the ports of the Atlantic.

Mediæval commerce resembled ancient commerce in being centred in cities which, originally blending religious rites with trade, eventually became the seats of political power.\* It differed in the wider area whence commodities were derived and in the larger share that maritime trade took in their distribution. The fate of these centres contrasts with that of the states of antiquity, which were ruined chiefly by conquest, and have utterly disappeared. During the Middle Ages the great emporiums of Italy culminated and decayed; yet, despite their continuous wars for supremacy and the decline of their splendour, they were not totally destroyed, and their institutions, literature, and language still remain to prove that civilisation had advanced, and was of a higher order than that of Babylon or Rome. Their decline was coeval with that of overland trade as a main division of commerce. Land carriage was slow, limited, difficult, and costly, and enriched only the cities lying in its direct route, and was more or less abandoned as soon as the new ocean traffic with India and the New World began.

\* *Association of Early Trade and Church Festivals.* Appendix L.



**EXPLANATION OF THE MAP**  
**OF THE**  
**PRINCIPAL CARAVAN AND OTHER ROUTES OF**  
**ANCIENT COMMERCE.**

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THE caravan routes shown in this map may be divided into four groups; namely, those of Arabia, of Central Asia, of Africa, and of Eastern Europe. Detailed, they correspond in numbers and in arrangement with the following

**ANALYSIS.**

**ROUTES OF ARABIA,**

*Including those of Phœnicia.*

1. From Aden and Moosa (near Mocha) to Saba (Mareb).
2. From Saba to the Persian Gulf at the modern town of Muskat, with a branch to Dhafar.
3. From Saba to Gerrha (El Katif).
4. From Saba to Petra and Rhinocolura.
5. From Gerrha to Damascus, Petra, and Tyre.
6. From Gerrha to Babylon.

*Phœnician Routes.*

1. From Tyre to Memphis.
2. From Tyre and Sidon to Damascus and Palmyra.
3. From Tyre, by Baalbek and Palmyra, to Babylon.
4. Not marked; from Phœnicia to Armenia and the Caucasus.

The above routes have long been abandoned, as regards the purposes of general commerce; but most of them are still frequented in connection with pilgrimages to Mecca, and, of course, with local trade.

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## ROUTES OF CENTRAL ASIA.

First, in connection with Assyria and Babylonia ; second, with the Bactrian Routes.

1. From Babylon to Gerrha, as above (6).
2. From Babylon to Phœnicia, as above (3).
3. Not marked ; from Babylon by Nineveh to Syria.
4. The Persian Royal Road from Sardis to Susa.
5. From Babylon by Ecbatana (Hamadan), Hecatompylos, Proph-tasia, and Ortospana (Cabul ?) to India.
6. From Byzantium by the Bay of Issus (Gulf of Iskanderoon) to Ecbatana.
7. Through the north of Asia Minor, from Byzantium to the Caspian Sea.

*Bactrian Routes.*

1. From Hecatompylos by Bactra to China, with a branch from Herat.
2. From Bactra to Ortospana (Cabul ?).
3. From Bactra by the Oxus River, the Caspian Sea, and the Cyrus River to the Black Sea.

Several of the above are now scarcely frequented excepting for local traffic. A more important course of commercial transit still follows portions of the China and India routes, *turning northward* into Russia, instead of westward, as in ancient times.

## ROUTES OF AFRICA.

*Carthaginian Routes.*

1. From the towns of the Lesser Syrtis toward the modern Ghdamis.
2. From Tripoli, by Fezzan towards Lake Chad.

*Egyptian and Ethiopian Routes.*

1. From Memphis to Phœnicia, as above (1).
2. From Thebes by Ammonium (Siwah) to Fezzan, with a branch from Memphis and another towards modern Benghazi.
3. From Thebes to Meroë, eastern route.
4. From Thebes to Meroë, western route.

5. From Meroë to Axum and Adule.
6. From Koptos to Berenice.
7. From Koptos to Myos Hormos.

The route from Egypt to Fezzan westwards is now virtually forsaken. In other respects the internal commerce of northern Africa takes much the same direction as in earlier days. The routes appear to be more numerous now, but that may be owing to our want of information on ancient trade.

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#### HYPOTHETICAL ROUTES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

1. From the White Sea towards Perm.
2. From Novgorod towards the Caspian Sea.
3. From Novgorod towards Kiev.
4. From the Baltic Sea towards Kiev.
5. From the Black Sea towards Orenburg.

The provinces intersected by these routes are now included within the railway system of Russia.

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For the most recent and reliable information on points connected with Ancient Babylonia and Central Asia, the reader is referred to the works of Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., President of the Royal Geographical Society.

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N.B.—In the preparation of all matter relating to Trade-routes and to Eastern traffic especially, the author has been greatly indebted to the kindness of A. A. West, Esq., M. Inst., C.E., whose long residence in India, and whose professional pursuits there, have made his assistance invaluable.—See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay branch, No. xxii., vol. vii., Art. II.





# DESCRIPTION

## OF THE

### PRINCIPAL CARAVAN AND OTHER ROUTES OF ANCIENT COMMERCE.

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#### *Arabian Routes.*

THE caravan routes of Arabia connected the Arabian navigation of the Indian seas with Egypt, Babylonia, and the ports of Idumæa, and Phœnicia on the Mediterranean. Very little is known concerning them, but it is probable that they concentrated principally on Petra and Tyre. The three principal marts of Arabia were—Yemen, or Saba, in the south-west; Gerrha (near El Katif), on the Persian Gulf, and Petra in the north-west; and the chief commercial routes in connection with them appear to have been as follow :—

1. From the port of Arabia Felix (Aden) to Sana, and on to Saba, (Mareb), with a branch from the port of Moosa (near Mocha).
2. From Mareb eastward nearly parallel with the southern coast to the Persian Gulf at Muskat, with a branch to the port of Dhafar.
3. From Mareb northward through the interior to Gerrha (near El Katif), on the Persian Gulf.
4. From Mareb and Sana north-west almost parallel with the shore of the Red Sea, past Mecca and Albus Ragus (Havra or Avara), to Petra, Gaza, and Rhinocolura.
5. From Gerrha to Tyre, north-west to Damascus, branching across the peninsula with an offshoot to Petra.
6. From Gerrha parallel with the shore of the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates and thence to Babylon.

With the rise of Alexandria, that part of Eastern commerce which

was conveyed overland by the Arabian caravan routes began to be diverted to the ports of Berenice and Myos Hormos in Egypt, by the Greek navigation of the Red Sea under the Ptolemies (B.C. 320). The Greeks, however, were not eminent for either skill or daring in navigation, and their maritime commerce extended very slowly along the coasts into the Indian Ocean. After the lapse of nearly 150 years, or at B.C. 177, it was still confined to the Red Sea, though a few Greek vessels went as far as Aden, where they met the Arabian ships, which were of a very large size, trading with India. About seventy years later, or B.C. 104, the Grecian fleets had passed the straits of Babelmandeb, and descended the eastern coast of Africa, first to the Bay of Mosullon (near Berbera), and afterwards as far as the Southern Horn (Cape Boxos). The trade with India from Aden and Kane, a port eastward of Aden, was still in the hands of the Arabians.

For a century and a half, or until A.D. 50, no farther extension of this branch of Grecian commerce is recorded; but at about that date, its whole character was altered through the discovery of the regular nature of the monsoon winds by Hippalus, a Grecian mariner. The fleets then started at the proper season from either Aden or Cape Guardafui for the open ocean, and were carried by a steady wind directly across to the coast of India, returning with the change of the monsoon. Ochellis (Ghella), a port on the Arabian coast within the Straits of Babelmandeb, was a rendezvous for the fleets, and Aden was a port for the exchange of goods between the large ocean ships and a smaller class of vessels for the Red Sea. Berenice and Myos Hormos (near Cosseir) were the chief ports on the Egyptian coast, and caravan routes extended from them to the Nile at Koptos (near Kenneh), goods being conveyed by boat to the vicinity of Alexandria. The canal between the Red Sea and the Nile, which had been reopened by the Ptolemies, does not appear to have been much used for this trade. At about the same date Grecian commerce had extended down the eastern coast of Africa to Rhaptum (Quiloa), and the coast was known as far south as Prasum (Mozambique), beyond which Greek navigators did not penetrate.

Egypt was made a Roman province in A.D. 48, and the Romans protected this valuable commerce from Arabian opposition and piracy. Aden was captured and destroyed before the close of the first century.

Arabia was invaded, but was successful in maintaining its independence. The eastern trade was, however, totally diverted to the Red Sea on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf on the other, and the caravan routes across the peninsula must have been then confined to local trading purposes.

With the spread of Mohamedanism over Asia, the great lines of intercourse in Arabia assumed a new phase. Mecca, as a place for pilgrimage, became the central point towards which all the principal routes converged. There was no material change from the ancient lines of communication, while Damascus was the capital of the khalifate, but after Bagdad was founded (A.D. 762), a very important route was established between it and Mecca, which is still much frequented.

#### *Phœnician Routes.*

The ancient routes next to be noticed are those in immediate connection with Phœnicia, whose commercial relations extended to the most remote regions traversed by the caravans. The mountainous character of the greater part of the country made inland communication difficult and circuitous. The principal lines were as follow :—

1. With Egypt along the sea-coast by Gaza, and along the eastern margin of the delta of the Nile to Middle Egypt at Memphis (near Cairo).

2. Between the sea-ports of Tyre and Sidon, and Damascus, by which the caravan routes of Arabia already described were brought into connection with those ports. From Damascus it extended to Palmyra.

3. From Tyre by Baalbek and Palmyra to the Euphrates at Thapsacus (near Rakkah). The caravans usually crossed the river at this point, or at Zelibi, some distance farther down, and then proceeded through Mesopotamia to Babylon.

4. There was a communication, but by no defined route, between Phœnicia and Armenia and the Caucasus. By the passes through that region, a communication could be obtained with Europe even as far as the Baltic.

The supremacy which the Phœnicians possessed for many centuries over the maritime commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, made these routes of great commercial importance. They were the highways for

its trade with eastern Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Assyria or Babylonia, and for that with remote parts of Asia and Europe; they were also the channels of communication between Assyria or Babylonia and Egypt. When Phœnicia ceased to be an independent nation, on the destruction of Tyre by Alexander (B.C. 332), the ports still continued an active intercourse, but Antioch, the new capital of Syria (B.C. 301), on the one hand, and Alexandria on the other, gradually assumed the position held previously by Tyre as the great centre of commerce. The rise of both these cities and the retention of a large part of the eastern trade on these routes, were much influenced by the Parthian supremacy in Central Asia (B.C. 229 to A.D. 226), which partially closed the great trade routes through that region, and forced the commerce with the far east to follow the routes by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Palmyra, which from its situation was always an important emporium for Phœnician commerce, continued to hold that position; it attained its greatest height of prosperity just before its destruction by the Romans, A.D. 273. Aleppo then began to rise in importance, being conveniently situated on the highway to Antioch from the routes of Central Asia, which had then been re-opened by the Persians (A.D. 226), the trade finding a convenient outlet to Europe not only by the port of Iskanderoon, but also by the direct overland route through Asia Minor to Constantinople.

#### *Assyrian and Babylonian Routes.*

These have been already partially alluded to in connection with Phœnicia and Palmyra. The great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, with their numerous branches and irrigating canals traversing these countries, must have been used at a very early date for the transport of goods on boats, rafts, or inflated skins; and such primitive methods of transport are still in vogue. Boats of coarse basket-work coated with bitumen were used to float goods down the stream, and on arrival at their destination were broken up and the materials sold. Others covered with leather were used in the same way, but the materials conveyed back to their starting-point in Armenia on the backs of asses, to be used again. The land routes through the cultivated districts were tracks set apart for the passage of travellers, and both on them and the more remote routes radiating in various

directions, there were established during the period of Persian domination (B.C. 538—334), resting-places at short distances apart; also fortresses for protection, and ferries, or other means for crossing rivers. The enormous empire of the Persians could not have been held together without the adoption of some such means for facilitating intercourse; but there are indications that the Persians only perpetuated and extended a preceding state of things.

The principal caravan routes in connection with this empire are as follow :—

1. From Gerrha on the Persian Gulf to Babylon, as already mentioned. It probably followed the course of the existing routes from the Persian Gulf to the westward of, and parallel with, the Euphrates.

2. From Babylon to Phœnicia and Egypt by Palmyra, as already described.

3. From Babylon along the Tigris by Opis and Nineveh round the north-west of Mesopotamia into Syria. This is not marked on the map.

4. The Persian Royal Road from Sardis to Susa (B.C. 500). It extended through the whole length of Asia Minor, traversing part of Cilicia and Armenia, and down the valley of the Tigris almost to the Persian Gulf, a distance of from 1,500 to 1,600 miles, or 90 days' journey, at about seventeen miles a day, through an inhabited and safe country. There were 111 stations upon it, at an average distance of fifteen or sixteen miles apart, with a resting-place or inn at each; also numerous forts. There were gates at the crossing of the river Halys, and on the borders of Cilicia, and ferries at the large rivers. The probable course of this road is marked by the following existing towns :—Sart (Sardis), Allah Shehr (Philadelphia), Afum Kara Hissar, Ak Shehr, Kaisariyah, Guroun, Malatiah, Diarbekir on the Tigris, Jezireh, Mosul (Nineveh), Arbil (Arbela), Kirkuk, and Sus (Susa).

The sea-port of Sardis was Ephesus, whose modern prototype is Smyrna; but there were doubtless many other branches from this road intersecting Asia Minor in various directions.

5. The great route into Eastern Asia from Babylon and Susa. The Royal Road from Susa and a direct route from Babylon united at a point eastward of Ctesiphon (near Bagdad), the successor to Babylon. The route then passed eastward up the valley of the river Diyala and

the Karina Pass by Kermanshah to Ecbatana (Hamadan). Then by Rhages (near Teheran) to the Caspian Gates, and by Hecatompylos (near Shahrood), Alexandria in Asia (Herat), Prophtasia (Zarang or Dooshah), up the valley of the Helmund by Arachotas and Ortospa (Cabul?), to the Indus by the Khyber Pass and Peshawur. Its general direction must then have been across the Punjab to Lahore, and towards Delhi and the line of the Ganges valley.

The passes through the formidable ranges of mountains which were traversed by this route, form so many fixed points for the transit of the commerce of all ages. There were but two practicable entrances to India from the north-west, namely, by the Khyber Pass, between Cabul and Peshawur, just mentioned, and by the Bolan Pass, between Kandahar and Shikarpore in Scind, near Khelat. That the latter was a route for ancient commerce is highly probable. It is also not improbable that the routes through central Persia by Kerman, Yezd, and Shiraz, were minor channels for trade. Near the last-named city are the ruins of Persepolis, which must have communicated with Susa by the route which now exists between Shiraz and Shuster, and with Ecbatana (Hamadan) by one or more of the various routes now existing through Ispahan. Across the cultivated districts between Susa and Babylon there must have been several lines of communication.

Before noticing the great branches and extensions of the fifth route through Bactria, it will be most convenient to finish the description of those which were used in ancient times in Asia Minor, namely :—

6. From Byzantium to Mesopotamia, or a part of the great China route mentioned by Ptolemy. Traversing Asia Minor to the Bay of Issus (Gulf of Iskanderoon), it crossed Mesopotamia from the river Euphrates to the Tigris at the height of Hierapolis, then through the Garamæi of Assyria and Media to Ecbatana. Its course on a modern map would be from Scutari, opposite Constantinople, by Afum Kara Hissar and Koniyyeh, crossing the Taurus mountains by the "Cilician Gates" to Aleppo; then by Bir on the Euphrates, Orfah and Diarbekir on the Tigris, where it joined the Royal Road already mentioned (fourth route), or else by the more direct route from Orfah to Mosul (Nineveh) (third route). Its subsequent course has been already described, into Eastern Asia (fifth route), and its more remote branches through Bactria will be afterwards mentioned. It was by this route that the

younger Cyrus, and afterwards Alexander, invaded the Persian empire, and when Constantinople became the great centre of commerce between Europe and the East, it was one of the chief highways for the caravans of Asia.

7. The last route to be mentioned is rather problematical. It traversed the northern part of Asia Minor with a branch from Trebizond, and extended to the southern borders of the Caspian Sea, being along the course of an existing route from Constantinople to Erzeroum.

#### *Bactrian Routes.*

Bactra (Balkh), "the Mother of Cities," was the chief emporium for the trade of Central Asia. The routes from Tartary, China, and India, after scaling the intervening mountain ranges, and the routes from the west and north, all converged on this point. They may be described as follows :—

1. The continuation of the China route from Asia Minor. From Hecatompylos (near Shahrood) it passed through Hyrcania to Antioch, in Margiana (Merve); through Aria to Bactra (Balkh); through the mountainous country of the Komèdi (the Beloor?); the territory of the Sacæ (Usbecks) to the Stone Tower (not identified), and to the station of those merchants who traded with the Seres; then to the Casii (Kashgar?), through the country of the Itagûri (Eyghurs?) to Sira Metropolis (Pekin?). This route may have passed through Nishapoor and Meshed (near the ancient Thous), or by a more northerly course, to Merve; thence up the Moorgaub valley and to Balkh, receiving on its course a branch from Herat. To the eastward of Balkh the course can only be conjectural, as the countries in that direction are but little known at present, though investigations are now in progress in connection with the trade of India and Russia, which may soon open up a better knowledge of them to Europeans. The route, on leaving Bactra, had to cross the lofty mountainous region which divides eastern Asia from the rest of the continent, and it may have followed one of three widely different courses. Either by the Kashgar defile, which would involve a very circuitous course through Maracanda (Samarcand), or by Badakshan across the Beloor or Bolor mountains to Yarkand, or by some unknown intermediate course across the Pamir table-land. It must then have followed much the

same course as the existing route south of the Muzart mountains, crossing the desert to the frontiers of China, but probably by a more southerly course than the present route, or from Lob by N'gansi to So-tchon, which was the route followed by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. Thence its probable course would be within the line of the Great Wall.

2. The next route in connection with Bactra is that which communicated with India through Ortospana (Cabul). Its whole extent lay through the mountains of the Hindoo Koosh, through which there are many passes which formerly, as now, must have been channels for trade, the choice being given to that which for the time being was most secure from plunderers. The Bamian Pass seems to have been the most frequented in ancient times.

The usual route between India and China passed through Ladak, but there was another of a very difficult character, from the vicinity of Benares to Lassa, whence, as at the present time, a north-east route passed by the sources of the Hoang-ho and south of the Koka Lake to the China route just described. From Lassa also an easterly route follows a very devious course to Ching-ton (Thina ?)

3. Besides the routes already described connecting Bactra with western Asia, there was another chiefly by river navigation, which must have been established at a later date, but which was for many centuries the regular course of trade between India and Europe. Its course was down the Oxus (Jihon) River, which then flowed into the Caspian Sea; along the southern margin of that sea and up the Cyrus (Kur) River as far as it could be navigated; then by land and by the Phasis River into Colchis at the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, from which point the Grecian ships afforded a ready access to all parts of Europe.

At some time early in the period of Arabian supremacy in Asia, the Oxus ceased to flow into the Caspian and turned its stream into the Aral Sea, as at present, but before the fifteenth century it had resumed its old course to the Caspian, and finally it reverted to the Aral Sea. These changes in the course of the river, though they interrupted its navigation, did not necessarily close the line of trade. The narrow and desert region between the Aral and Caspian seas became intersected with caravan routes, and in the fourteenth century the chief route into Europe had taken a more northerly course up the Volga River, across



the narrow intervening district to the Don, which was descended to the Black Sea. This was in connection with the Genoese monopoly of Black Sea commerce, terminating in 1475.

### *Ancient Caravan Routes of Africa.*

The ancient routes in North Africa were in connection with three kingdoms, namely, Carthage, Egypt, and Ethiopia. The inland trade was conducted by the nomade tribes, and not by the civilised nations of the coasts. No indications are therefore to be found upon the routes far inland of their ancient use, and the only notices concerning them occur in a few passages of Herodotus regarding Egypt. They must have been identical with those now existing, being permanently fixed by the mountain passes and the various oases through which they lie.

### *Carthaginian Routes.*

The inland trade of Carthage seems to have been one of its state secrets, but it is manifest that the city of Carthage itself, as well as the numerous towns on the sea-coast, must have had communication with the interior of Africa. The towns around the Lesser Syrtis and the Triton Lake, south of Carthage, were evidently the great staple places for the trade with the interior, and must have had a direct communication with the vicinity of Ghdamis, whence other routes branch in numerous directions across the desert, only one of which, to the southward, is much frequented at the present day. Distinct mention is made of another route in connection with Carthaginian territory. From Tripoli it extended eastward to Leptis Magna (Lebida), not far from Mesurata, and thence turned southward through Fezzan and across the desert to the Soudan, in the vicinity of Lake Chad, corresponding with one of the principal routes used at the present time.

The progress of Carthaginian maritime commerce down the western coast of Africa was, no doubt, greatly promoted by information obtained through their inland trade.

### *Egyptian and Ethiopian Routes.*

The river Nile was the chief highway through the interior of Egypt and into Ethiopia (Nubia). The communications with Asia and the interior of Africa were by caravan routes.

1. Between Memphis and Phœnicia as already described.

2. From Thebes to the land of the Garamantes and the Carthaginian territory. Its usual course from Thebes was by Latopolis to the south; another course was by Abydos to the north of Thebes, the two meeting in the Great Oasis (El Kargah). Thence it proceeded by Siwah (Ammonium), Augila, and Zala into Fezzan, where it united with the routes in connection with Carthage and the interior. A route from Memphis by Alexandria and the coast joined at Ammonium, and there was a branch from Augila northward to the coast.

3. From Thebes up the Nile, across the great bend (Korosko to Berber), on to Meroë (Shendy), and on to modern Sennar.

4. From Thebes up the Nile to modern Dongola, and across to Meroë (Shendy), as well as along the Nile to Meroë.

The very tortuous course of the river and the interruption to navigation caused by the cataracts, made it necessary to divert the traffic to these two land routes, which are used at the present time.

5. From Meroë by a doubtful course to Axum, and on to Adulè on the Red Sea.

6, 7. From Koptos on the Nile near Thebes, to Berenice and to Myos Hormos. These routes have been already mentioned in connection with the Greek navigation of the Red Sea, but they appear to have been used at a much earlier date as approaches to Thebes, probably in connection with the commerce through Arabia.

During the period of Roman supremacy in Northern Africa an extensive commerce was still carried on by the African routes. This was also the case during the period of Arabian supremacy; but Mohamedan influence extended farther into the interior, and is now found to prevail beyond the southern limits of the desert. During this period two very important routes were established. One was the great Haj route from Morocco eastward throughout the whole extent of North Africa to Egypt, and by Suez round the Gulf of Akaba to Mecca. The other was a similar route from the vicinity of Timbuctoo through the Soudan and Nubia to Egypt. There was also a considerable intercourse by sea between Egypt and Jiddah, the port of Mecca. The extension of steam navigation has led to the abandonment of these routes. Pilgrims now proceed to Egypt by steamer from the sea-ports of Africa, and again by steamer to Jiddah.

*Hypothetical Routes in Europe.*

These routes for the most part intersected the great plains of Sarmatia (Russia), and cannot be laid down with the same precision as most of those previously described.

1. From the White Sea towards Perm.
2. From the districts on the Gulf of Finland (Novgorod) towards the Caspian, a route which in its general direction, and by being extended to the Caucasus, brought the Baltic regions into connection with Phœnician commerce through Armenia.
3. From the vicinity of Novgorod towards Kiev.
4. From the Baltic towards Kiev, communicating with the Black Sea by the course of the river Dnieper.
5. A route not marked on the map extended from the northern coasts of the Black Sea, in the direction of Orenburg. It was by this course that the barbarians, at a later time, made their first inroads on the Roman empire.



## PART III.

### MODERN COMMERCE.



#### CHAPTER I.

##### PORTUGAL.

THE results of the vast maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century were scarcely greater to the new countries than the old. Indian commerce was changed in course and enlarged in area. Industry was stimulated in the East, and colonies were formed and peopled by races more robust than the native inhabitants. During the reign of Emanuel the Fortunate (1495—1521) Portugal enjoyed its maximum wealth and greatness, and for a while Lisbon remained the great European emporium of Indian goods. Its warehouses were filled with commodities exceeding both in variety and in amount those formerly brought to Europe by way of Suez and the Mediterranean, comprising Indian stuffs, silks, cotton, spices and pearls, ivory and gold dust, sugar from St. Thomas, wine from Madeira, salt, and southern fruits. Dutch, German, and English merchants made it their rendezvous, and took away costly freights. The spiceries for Antwerp alone, then the great market of the North, were of the annual value of two million crowns. Portugal confined its active commerce to India; the distribution of Indian commodities throughout Europe was conducted by other commercial states. The Portuguese regarded this

distribution as the least profitable branch of commerce, and while in the zenith of their wealth and power, could afford to treat it with neglect.

The basis of the authority of the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans that obtained dominion in India, was laid by the viceroy Francesco d'Almeida, who, from 1505 to 1509, established many agencies and colonies, and increased the Portuguese trade enormously. Among his principal conquests was that of the ancient island of Taprobane, known in modern times as Ceylon. In the last year of Almeida's government, the combined fleets of Venice and Egypt, fearing the diversion of trade, had been despatched from Suez to crush the Portuguese, whom they nearly overpowered. The viceroy proved equal to the occasion, for, gathering his forces, he suddenly attacked the allies and swept their ships from the sea. Alphonso d'Albuquerque, who succeeded Almeida, completely established the supremacy of the Portuguese. He took Goa by assault from the ruler of the Deccan, and struck by its salubrity and fertility, he made it his residence and the head-quarters of the Portuguese trade. His enterprise carried him to Eastern India, where he took Malacca in 1511 with a great booty, occupied the Moluccas, and brought the neighbouring states into subjection. Malacca stood then in the same relation to commerce that Singapore stands now; it was an entrepot of maritime trade, where ships from the eastern and western confines of the old continent met. The influence of the Portuguese was now felt from Cape Comorin to China, and especially in the great peninsula of Hindostan, an area nearly thirty times larger than that of their own kingdom, with a population of one hundred and fifty millions. Albuquerque turned his arms towards Ormuz, an island at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and the depot of the Arab merchants. He had, under Almeida, unsuccessfully attacked this stronghold, but now its spiritless prince succumbed at once, and western

India from Ormuz to Ceylon owned the sway of Portugal. Embassies from all sides waited on the viceroy at Goa, and Portuguese power reached its climax.

For the greater part of a century his country wielded the power he bequeathed. Portuguese vessels alone were allowed in the Indian Ocean. Even when leave was granted to a foreign ship, no trade was permitted in spices, metals, and arms. Every year a merchant fleet, convoyed by vessels of war, left Lisbon for Goa, taking a year and a half or two years, for the voyage out and home. Ancient fears still induced them to make long and dangerous coasting voyages round Africa, the only open-sea navigation being from their station at Mozambique, whence they could glide before the monsoons. The frequent loss of vessels upon sunken reefs or shoals came to be regarded as unavoidable in these perilous enterprises.

Intercourse with the Chinese was commenced in the year 1518, when an embassy sent to their empire had the good fortune to drive off a pirate from the shores, and in consequence was received with favour, and rewarded with the town of Macao as a settlement. Japan was discovered in 1542, by the accidental drifting of a vessel to its shores. The Portuguese soon acquired an ascendancy over the petty princes who then governed the islands, and laid the foundations of a profitable commerce.

Succeeding rulers of the settlements in India suffered the prestige of Portugal to decline. The natives reasserted their rights and drove the invaders away. Ludovico d'Ataïda defended Goa when destruction seemed imminent, and preserved for a time the Portuguese possessions. After his death in 1581, factions and revolts, neglect of discipline and defence, persecution and intolerance under the name of religion, led to the rapid decay of Portuguese power.

The royal line died out in 1580, when the power of Philip II. of Spain enabled him to unite the two countries. During sixty years of enforced union (1580—

1640) the Spanish ports drew off the trade of Lisbon, and Portugal was involved in the war with the Netherlands. The Low Countries were shut out from the Peninsular markets, and they in retaliation attacked the Indian colonies. In 1602 a Dutch East India Company was established, whose fleet eventually left the Portuguese in possession of only two small stations, Goa in Hindostan, and Macao in China. Its success led to the formation of a West Indian Company, which in like manner deprived Portugal of Brazil.

When the Portuguese regained their independence, they called to the throne a prince of the ancient house of Braganza, who founded the present dynasty, but their power and prestige were much diminished. The government courted an alliance with England by offering valuable privileges of trade, with the ulterior view of obtaining aid against any further aggressions on the part of Spain. Very few references are subsequently made to the trade and industry of the kingdom till the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The debased condition of the Portuguese, far more than the strength of their Dutch rivals, was the cause of their loss of empire. The regulations in force for the government of the colonies seem to have been devised to effect their ruin ! There was a triennial change of officers. The three regencies of Monomotapa, the Indies and Malacca, were administered by viceroys, having no relation with each other, and no common interest ; yet severally bound by the petty and absurd restrictions of a government thousands of miles away. Each officer's interest was wholly selfish, he strove to get all he could, and to keep all he got, careless of the people he robbed, and equally so of the interests of the mother-country. It was a form of government adapted to enrich individuals, but to impoverish the kingdom.

The King of Portugal reserved to himself the commerce of all the countries between Portugal and Ormuz, and again of the whole region eastward of the Ganges, leaving to his



subjects a free trade with Hindostan only. He granted as a reward for services rendered to him, monopolies by which individuals were permitted to fit out one or more merchant-ships for a single voyage to India, and these privileges were usually sold again. The spirit in which such enterprises were undertaken was not that of just and permanent trade, but the simple desire of making the utmost gain out of each separate venture. Neither the rulers in India nor the merchants hesitated at rapine and fraud. The contemporaneous discoveries in the New World embarrassed the Portuguese, who feared that in confining themselves to the East, they were giving Spain an advantage, and losing richer plunder in the West. Portugal was demoralised. Bigotry had driven away the skilful and industrious, while ruinous restrictive laws were obstinately persisted in, to the destruction of domestic enterprise. As in Spain, it was an offence punishable with death to export the precious metals; a law which did not stop the outflow, but led to an illegal trade. While gold and silver abounded in Amsterdam, and there was scarcely a European state which did not increase in wealth, the possessors of the trade with India, like the conquerors of Peru and Mexico, were so troubled for want of money, that they had to resort to a great issue of copper coinage. The Portuguese retook Brazil in 1654, and the Dutch connection with it ceased a few years after. The Dutch, however, had previously effected the settlement of Cape Colony, then nominally in the hands of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese passively looked on while foreigners conducted their trade, neither availing themselves of the profit of the maritime transport, nor of the impetus that might have been given to their own languishing industries. England, by her alliances with Portugal, secured almost a monopoly of Portuguese commerce. Brazil was found to be so well adapted for the cultivation of the sugarcane, that the chief supply came thence for European con-

sumption. Its economic produce has ever been increasing. Diamonds of the gross weight of nearly one ton, and seven hundred tons of gold, had by the beginning of the nineteenth century come nominally into the hands of the Portuguese, but more truly of the English.

The Marquis de Pombal, by his wise statesmanship from 1750 to 1777, restored to Portugal a portion of its renown. He tried to render his country more self-dependent, and partially succeeded. Under his administration agricultural and manufacturing industry and commerce revived, while the preponderating influence of England was lessened. He diverted some part of the Portuguese trade to France, which, next to England and Brazil, is still the best customer of Portugal, though interchange is limited by the similarity of natural produce. One great benefit which Pombal conferred upon his country was the development of the wine and fruit trade, which he could not, however, help from falling into English hands. He projected the great Oporto Wine Company, which produced the famous port wine, on a strip of land four miles and a half long by one mile broad, lying on the Upper Douro, and purchased by the company in 1756. Monopoly has nevertheless fettered the wine industry in Portugal, and the cultivators of the vine are bound by so many fiscal restrictions, that they can hardly enjoy the sense of ownership in their own property. Still this industry has been from the time of Pombal the mainstay of Portugal as a commercial state. Holland and Germany differing more than France from Portugal in climate and natural resources, sought its native and colonial produce, especially sugar, tobacco, hides, and dyewoods, both for their own consumption and for farther distribution in the north-eastern states of Europe, offering in exchange their own linen and flax, grain and timber, butter and salted fish. During the American War, this commerce was particularly active. Pombal was unable to stimulate any considerable maritime traffic; yet he gave a direction to the national

energy, the effects of which were afterwards seen. Two Portuguese vessels passed through the Sound in 1772, and twenty-one passed in 1779. The national traits were, unhappily, too deeply rooted for one man or one generation to remedy.

To this day the Portuguese afford an emphatic lesson against the misuse of the blessings of wealth. Their agriculture and manufactures are at the lowest ebb; Lisbon and Oporto are the only two large towns in the kingdom; and travelling is so bad, that even between these places there has, until within a very recent date, been no continuous highway.

## CHAPTER II.

### SPAIN.

AMERICA received its appellation from the geographer, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who in 1499, in company with the Spaniard Alonzo de Ojeda, one of the companions of Columbus, made a voyage across the Atlantic, and published an account of his travels. In this work he claimed to have been the first to see the mainland, and with little modesty named it after himself. Every successive voyage extended the range of discovery; Yucatan, in 1507, the year in which Columbus died, and Florida in 1512, were added to the Spanish possessions. Nunez de Balboa in 1513 crossed the isthmus of Darien, and was the first European to behold the great Pacific Ocean. There was no longer any question that a large country had been discovered, separated by an unknown distance from the true Indies. Cabral's discovery of Brazil, and the discovery, in 1515, of the Rio de la Plata, forced upon men's minds the fact that the earth had doubled its dimensions, and that a new world had been found, with "rivers and mountains and treasures of gold and silver of greater magnitude than those of the old."

The natives of these countries were of a race unknown. Their complexion was copper-coloured, and they had lank dark hair, but no beard. They were cruel to their enemies, but affectionate towards their friends; very brave, and holding death in contempt. The islands were peopled by a variety of the same race, of feebler build, and of wilder manners. Cortez found in Mexico, and Pizarro in Chili and Peru, a regular form of government, and advanced civilisation.

For a long while the Canary Islands were of greater commercial value to Spain than the new continent, except in the single item of the precious metals. Sugar and Madeira wine supplied not only the wants of Spain, but the mart at Antwerp for the northern states of Europe. Considerable fisheries were also prosecuted. Eventually these sources of wealth were disdained, and exclusive attention was given to the gold and silver mines of America. Coin, as the medium of exchange, became more abundant than ever, while its purchasing value was diminished. The necessities of life rose in price, first in Spain and afterwards throughout Europe. The glory and the shame of Spain are both associated with the period when a "New World" was the appanage of a European peninsula.

After the third voyage of Columbus, the king obtained a bull from the Pope, granting him all lands west of a certain meridian in the Atlantic; the Portuguese having already a like grant of possession for their discoveries to the east of the same line. Thus these nations divided the world, and this grant from the Pope, contrary to every principle of natural right, resulted in wars of extermination, which were carried on against the native population of the newly discovered countries. In the confirmed belief of the earth's sphericity, Magellan was sent out with five ships to seek a westerly passage to that favoured region, and to enforce the Spanish right. He perished in a conflict with the natives of the Philippines, but his companions completed the circumnavigation of the earth, returning by way of the Cape, after an absence of rather more than three years.

From 1532 to 1586 the Spaniards spread over the region of Terra Firma, comprising the states now called New Granada, Venezuela, and Guiana, inhabited by the less civilised tribes. At first conquests were entered upon with a missionary zeal; and later, a pretence of religion was used as a plea for the most atrocious cruelties. The red men met the Spaniards with the reverence due to superior

beings. They brought gold and silver ornaments as presents to appease their mighty guests, whose cupidity was insatiable. Temples were stripped of treasure in the name of the Holy Church; while the whip, the rack, the faggot, and the bloodhound were used as instruments in the conversion of the natives to Christianity!

The aborigines of Cuba and St. Domingo died out in a few years. In the first half-century of Spanish domination it is computed that they had diminished by ten or twelve millions. This terrible mortality was due, in the first period of conquest, to the employment of the natives in the mines and on the plantations, labours for which their feeble constitutions totally unfitted them. "They who died not under the lash in a tropical sun, died in the darkness of the mine. From sequestered banks where the red flamingo fishes in the grey of morning, from fever-stricken mangrove thickets and the gloom of impenetrable forests, from hiding-places in the clefts of the rocks and the solitude of invisible caves, from the eternal snows of the Andes, where there was no witness but the all-seeing sun, there went up to God a cry of human despair. Spain even destroyed races more civilised than herself. From Mexico and Peru, a civilisation which might have instructed Europe was crushed out."\*

Thus these gentle Indians were the antitypes of the poor aborigines whom the ancient Phœnicians and Carthaginians forced to toil in the mines of Spain. Las Casas, grieving at the rapid diminution of the Indians, proposed the employment of the strong negroes from the Portuguese possessions in Africa, and thus, from feelings of humanity, arose the infamous slave-trade.

The conquest of Mexico by Fernando Cortez was marked by the grossest inhumanity. He landed at Tabasco in 1519 with six hundred and seventeen followers, and in the course of three years he not only plundered the imperial treasury

\* "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," by John W. Draper, M.D., LL.D., vol. ii. pp. 161, 162.

of all its stores, and the Mexicans of everything they possessed of value, but he caused Montezuma, their sovereign, to be murdered by one of his own subjects; stretched the next monarch on burning coals in order to make him disclose the hiding-place of his wealth, and afterwards executed him on a gibbet.

The conquest of Peru was signalised by even greater atrocities. In 1524 a body of two hundred and fifty foot, with sixty horse, led by Diego d'Almagro and Francisco Pizarro, invaded Peru. They found the country flourishing under the rule of an ancient race of native kings called Incas. Atahualpa, the reigning Inca, was required to surrender his crown and to be baptized, and upon his hesitation was seized as a prisoner, while five thousand of his subjects were slaughtered before his eyes. The unhappy monarch then went through the mockery of a trial for concealing his treasures, and was publicly strangled, while an enormous amount of gold and jewels became the prey of the invaders.

In 1532 the silver mines of Zacatecas in Mexico were discovered. Those of Potosi in Upper Peru were not worked until 1545, when an Indian in pursuit of a llama on the steep side of the Cerro or cone caught hold of a shrub to save himself from falling, and thus exposed a mass of solid silver.\*

Colonies sprang into existence with marvellous rapidity. The court of Spain provided for the government of these new possessions by a Council of the Indies, meeting at Madrid, which under the king's authority appointed viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and Terra Firma. Every acquisition was made the property of the king, who claimed a royalty which varied between twenty and five per cent. on all the gold and silver raised. An ecclesiastical council, subordinate to the king, controlled religious affairs. In many places the settle-

\* The whole elevation of fifteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-one feet seems to consist of ore of this metal.

ments grew to considerable towns. Vera Cruz was founded by Cortez in 1519, and Cumana in 1520. Puerto Bello arose in 1532, Valencia in 1555, Caraccas in 1567. Of minor note were Acapulco, Lima, Panama, La Concepcion, and Buenos Ayres.

America was less a trading than a mining possession of Spain. Extensive as the new territories were, occupying more than half of South America besides Mexico and the West Indies, we may well doubt whether they were a real benefit to the mother-country. The rich mines of the New World led Spain to neglect her own. While Ferdinand and Isabella lived, the useful plants and chief domestic animals of the Old World were introduced into America, and Spain received in exchange cochineal, indigo, cacao (cocoa or chocolate), tobacco, cinchona, quinine (Peruvian or Jesuit's bark), vanilla, logwood, sugar, and hides. A short-sighted and selfish policy, however, led to ruin. The natives were systematically crushed; mulattoes and mestizos sprung of Spanish parentage were excluded from posts of trust. Only Spaniards sent out by the council could exercise authority, and these were not allowed while in office to settle in the country. Creoles of white parentage, but born and brought up in the country, could not administer any department of government, although equally with the Chapetons or New-comers they composed the noble caste of Blancos. The mixed and native races were degraded to one mode of occupation from which there was no escape. They were not permitted to spin, weave, dye, or tan leather, but were compelled to buy without choice clothes imported from Spain. Except in Peru and Chili, the olive and vine cultivation was suppressed, and in these provinces it was made penal to dispose of wine and oil. Spain kept all the traffic to herself, jealously excluding foreigners from her ports. Seville first, and afterwards Cadiz, were the harbours to which the colonial trade was confined.

Two royal squadrons, known respectively as the galleons



of twelve ships and the fleet of fifteen ships, sailed once a year, or once in two years, between Spain and America; the commerce with South America being conducted by the galleons, and that with New Spain or Mexico by the fleet. The port of the galleons was Puerto Bello, of the fleet Vera Cruz. In the reign of Philip II. the number of vessels was increased to sixty or seventy in the fleet which traded with Mexico, and about forty in that which traded with Peru. These were all armed and protected by a convoy of men of war. Puerto Bello was a pestilential mangrove swamp inhabited only when the galleons were due. Peruvian and Chilian produce was brought by the Pacific to Panama and transferred overland to the port. The markets lasted forty days, the intervening time being a period of silence and desolation. The operations of the fleet at Vera Cruz were conducted under like regulations; a few vessels meanwhile traded with the islands. Colonial produce as well as gold and silver was bartered for Spanish manufactures. Values were settled by the admirals and the colonial governors, the first being satisfied with a profit of from one hundred to three hundred per cent.; but the second, having the subsequent distribution of the commodities and the power of compelling the natives to purchase, were only limited in their profits by the amount which it was possible to wring from their victims. Subordinate officers determined the nature, quantity, and price of goods for the Indians of the various districts, and thus carried out to the uttermost the system of extortion.

Scherer's graphic pen thus depicts Spanish fraud in these transactions or *repartimientos*.—"The unfortunate natives were obliged to buy things though entirely ignorant of their use. Their tyrants refused to take anything back. Men who could scarcely gain a livelihood for their families were compelled, in derision of their poverty, to dress in silk and velvet, and to adorn with mirrors the naked walls of their dilapidated huts. Having no beards, the Indians were made

to buy razors. They had never used tobacco, but snuff-boxes were indispensable. Laces, ribbons, buttons, books, and a thousand utterly worthless objects, as far as the natives were concerned, were thrust upon them. Above all, they could not escape brandy, which although at first they refused to taste, they were obliged to buy at an enormous price. After being compelled to purchase all these useless things, they were allowed to buy what they wanted—cloth, linen, and tools, at a cost always equal to three or four times their value.”

Spain grew so eager for the precious metals, that at length no attention was given to any active commerce beyond that of the mother-country and her colonies. A considerable trade was consequently carried on by the northern nations, especially by the Netherlanders, then subject to the Spanish crown. Dutch vessels carried grain, butter, ship-timber, pitch, tar, and hemp; and Flemish ships from Antwerp carried the manufactures of Flanders to the Spanish ports of Cadiz, Seville, and St. Lucar, taking in exchange gold and silver, tropical fruits, wine, wool, and silk-stuffs. As soon as the Portuguese secured the East Indian commerce, a considerable interchange took place between them and the Spaniards.

From the year 1516 to 1566, Spain was governed by Charles V., a monarch acute enough to see the invaluable importance of trade to his subjects, and anxious to promote it by legislation. He furthered every form of domestic industry as far as the narrow views then prevalent and his incessant wars permitted. His efforts had but little effect, for commerce continued in foreign hands. The complete decay of Spanish trade did not occur in the reign of this king. In 1552, Segovia still employed thirteen thousand men in the woollen manufacture. Granada and Andalusia possessed factories of damask and silk. Paper was made at Cuença, and arms in the cities of north-western Spain. The Moors, who still lived in the country to the number of a

million, excelled the Spaniards in every branch of art and manufacture. Barcelona was the manufacturing centre for cutlery and fire-arms for the Spanish adventurers, yet its business never attained to the magnitude of its mediæval days.

In 1566 Philip II. succeeded to the mighty empire of Charles. In the exultant language commemorated on a medal, when Charles retired into a monastery that "Atlas might at length have rest," he was described as "Philip of Austria, the emperor's son, a new hope of the country, the love and joy of the human race." Resplendent on the surface, his glory was hollow. Morose and pitiless, he made liberty of opinion a crime. The races under his rule, differing in lineage, in temperament, in pursuits, and widely severed as to locality, were restrained from passing the narrow and shallow convictions of the royal mind, in the whole compass of church and state. The Inquisition had just been established. Its cruel powers were nominally directed against the Jews, but were applied against every species of nonconformity, which was deemed an evil of supreme magnitude. His father's government of the Netherlands had been one long conflict on points of faith and finance, and Philip despatched the Duke of Alva to put an end to disaffection and difference of opinion by fire and sword. He, however, misjudged the power of endurance of the Dutch, with whom the war lasted sixty years.

The Spaniards believed that "the whole earth trembled when Spain was angry;" nevertheless, Philip's armies in the Netherlands drained his coffers faster than they were replenished from the mines of America. Agriculture and industry languished. Commerce was crippled by excessive dues, under the idea of adding to the revenue. The profits of trade, which, under wiser regulations, might have been the main reliance of the government, were diverted to the benefit of English and Dutch smugglers, who swarmed

around the Spanish colonies and the mother-country with a strength and daring too great to be withstood, even if the inhabitants had not connived at their illicit trade. Between buccaneering and smuggling the distinction was not always kept clear. Philip reaped the fruits of the hostility he had called forth by his attempts upon England and Holland, and Castilian mariners helped to man the privateers which attacked his galleons and his foreign settlements.

Spain had colonised the large islands of Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, but had neglected the smaller islands, which were thereupon resorted to by the buccaneers, who issued from these secure retreats, and harassed the Spaniards and their commerce for nearly two hundred years. For these indignities and injuries Spain could get neither sympathy nor reparation from the states of which the buccaneers were subjects, on account of the obstinacy with which she opposed the settlement of any foreign colony even on the unoccupied islands, and excluded the European states from American commerce.

Spanish pretensions founded upon the pope's bull roused every nation to hostility. Her richly-laden galleons wherever found were made prizes, and the cities of the New World were captured and held to ransom by swarms of pirates. Thousands of privateers were built in Holland. The haughty claim of Spain to the seas was scornfully denied. The assailed became the assailants. The Dutch attacked Lisbon in 1589, and, with still greater daring, Cadiz in 1596. The baffled and humiliated Philip sank into the grave in 1598, bequeathing a legacy of bigotry to his son, the third of his name, who improved upon his father's fatuity. One of his measures was to expel the remnant of the Moors who remained in Spain after the conquest of Granada. The Moriscos, to the number of eight hundred thousand, transferred their ingenuity to Morocco, where their descendants still remain. The manufactured produce of England and Holland had become so necessary that even Philip II.,

during the wars with the Netherlands, had been obliged to connive at the infraction of his own decrees. Philip III. insanely closed the Spanish harbours and deliberately put an end to trade, and thus completed the ruin which his father had failed to effect.

The decadence of Spain was as rapid as of Portugal. For this fall their respective governments were much to blame. The people had become possessed of an unearned fortune, and knew not how to use it wisely. Pride and avarice dominated over every other national trait. When the two kingdoms were united, the rage for gold and silver, common to both, overpowered all other considerations. Home industries were utterly neglected, and the very necessities of life had to be imported in exchange for the precious metals. Labour was contemned when fortunes could be made at a stroke. Noblemen who engaged in trade forfeited the privileges of their rank, and became plebeians, and plebeians were crushed by fiscal burdens.

A bigoted infatuation turned the beautiful mountains and fertile valleys of Granada into a desert (1492), by the extermination of the Moors. A revengeful pride cost Spain an Invincible Armada (1588). Tyranny loosened the loyalty of the colonies, and intolerance, both religious and political, lost her the Netherlands. More gold and silver came into Spain in one generation than had been accumulated in all the previous ages of history; yet the country became burdened with debt. The precious metals enriched not Spain, but the countries of Europe, upon whom, through her own profusion, indolence, and pride, she was dependent for the necessities and comforts of life. So rapidly did Spain decline, that barely a century after her American empire was established, though possessing the finest coast and harbours, the richest soil, and the most beautiful climate in Europe, she sank into a state of poverty, ignorance, and helplessness, only to be equalled in the sister-kingdom of Portugal. Before twenty years of the seventeenth century had gone

by, the peasantry were reduced to half their former number, and oxen and sheep to a third of the previous stock. Spain retained the Philippine Islands, which, with Cuba in the West Indies, were now her most valuable possessions, and which led to the establishment of a line of galleons between the two Indies, the respective ports of which were Acapulco and Manilla.

As the population of Spain decreased, the industrial produce gradually diminished, and the want of native commodities finally led to the loss of even her own colonial commerce. Merino wool was highly valued throughout Europe, but Spain imported the cloth woven from the fleece which she had supplied. Mexico and Peru sent continually increasing treasures, but only to be used in purchasing the necessities of life, or to meet the expenses of the wars with France. Agriculture suffered from mischievous legislation. A strict system of entail kept the land in the hands of the nobility, the church, and the great corporations. A company of sheep-farmers of high rank, called the Mesta, founded in 1556, contrived in the course of time to obtain rights of pasturage over the whole of Spain, with power to convert the arable lands into pasture. Under certain limitations they claimed through any farm a right of way two hundred and forty feet wide, at certain seasons, for their flocks to and from the uplands and winter pastures. This monopoly, which necessarily included that of wool, checked for generations all improvement in agriculture.\*

Profitless husbandry accompanied neglected roads and impoverished markets; great tracts became sterile, and the wasteful felling of forests—cut down, it is said, out of hatred to the Moors who planted them—led to scarcity of timber. The quicksilver, copper, and lead mines fell off for want of labour. The whirr of ten thousand looms might once have been heard in many of the Moorish cities; at last there

\* *Institution of the Mesta.* Appendix M.

were not so many to be found in the whole peninsula. Seville, which contained thirteen thousand weavers of silk and wool at the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, now possessed but three or four hundred looms. A toll, amounting in 1720 to five per cent. of its value, was exacted from the seller of any commodity whatever in any part of the country, and this, added to heavy customs duties, drove away the last vestige of lawful traffic.

Brighter prospects smiled upon Spain at intervals during the eighteenth century. Charles II., the last sovereign of the Austrian line, had died, and the War of Succession, which lasted from 1700 to 1713, ended in a change of dynasty. Philip Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., ascended the throne, and established the line of Bourbon princes. Misrule, however, had become so inveterate, and vested interests so powerful, that the government could only mitigate, not remove, the great evils under which the kingdom suffered. Monopolies were brought under less hurtful rules, and efforts were again made to extend foreign commerce. Attention was turned to the other natural resources of America besides its precious metals. "Terra Firma" was occupied and cultivated by the Caraccas Company in 1728, under royal auspices. Cadiz, being better situated, was chosen in preference to Seville, as the depot for colonial goods.

Up to the year 1740, the prescribed number of twenty-seven galleons and twenty-three ships sailed annually from the harbour of Cadiz, which possessed exclusive privileges in the colonial trade. The advance of liberal legislation will be seen in an interesting manner by a comparison of dates :—

- 1740. Registered ships from other ports allowed to purchase a license for unrestricted trade with the West Indies.
- 1748. Privilege of license revoked, owing to abuses or supposed abuses. Rights of Cadiz alone reserved.
- 1769. License granted again to every Spanish harbour, of free trade between the Spanish West India Islands and the mother-country.
- 1770. License extended to Louisiana.

1776. License extended to Yucatan and Mexico.

1778. License extended to Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres ; and afterwards to New Granada and Guatemala.

Manufactures benefited by the encouragement given to commerce :

1772. The cotton trade was declared free.

1774. Right to import West India produce, duty free, granted to various Spanish ports.

The cotton mills of Catalonia, the chief seat of textile industry, once again grew active. New manufactures of silk, woollen, cotton, hats, carpets, porcelain, glass, and ironware, became the object of government solicitude.

Internal communication was improved by Ferdinand II. and Charles III., who caused new highways and canals to be constructed to facilitate the transport of goods. German families were invited to colonise the Sierra Morena and establish model farms, in order that the Spanish husbandmen might acquire better methods of tillage, and learn the use of improved agricultural implements. Descendants from these German farmers are to the present day tillers of this mountain ridge. Madder, hemp, and other new substances were introduced, and the prohibition of the export of grain was removed. This prohibition, instead of keeping more corn in the country, as was originally intended, had actually reduced the quantity of corn, by taking away from the growers an inducement to its cultivation, in the chance of profiting by its sale abroad. A more prosperous condition began to be visible in Spain. Corn had still to be imported from the Netherlands and Sicily, and foreign products could not at once be replaced by those of home growth ; but the exports of native produce had considerably increased. Bilboa, San Sebastian, and Seville were the chief places of export, next to Cadiz, which still ranked as the first of Spanish ports.

French trade with Spain increased under the Bourbons, and the Dutch trade proportionally declined. French silks,



cloths, and linens of the aggregate value of eighteen million piastres, were annually exchanged at Cadiz for colonial produce. The intimate connection which existed between Holland and Spain while united under one monarchy, was now superseded by the dynastic ties which bound France and Spain. The Hanse Towns also competed with Holland to supply Spain with the productions of Northern Europe.

In 1713 England concluded the Asiento Treaty with Spain, and obtained the privilege of taking a yearly cargo of negro slaves to Puerto Bello. Under cover of this arrangement, smuggling by the English, French, and Dutch was carried on to a degree so detrimental to Spanish commerce, that the government would not, at the end of the stipulated term in 1748, renew the treaty.

The subjoined table shows the commercial changes that occurred, and how seriously Spanish trade declined from 1734 to 1759:—

Ships entering the port of Cadiz.					1734.	1759.
English	.	.	.	.	596	114
French	.	.	.	.	228	19
Dutch	.	.	.	.	147	115
Total . . .					971	248

From 1759 to 1788, there ruled over Spain a prince who, though hindered by wars, and unsuccessful in much that he attempted, is yet remembered with pride and affection, as a benefactor to his country. Charles III. possessed a considerable capacity for government, and a power of penetration into character, which enabled him to surround himself with wise and able ministers. The confusion in which he found the finances of the kingdom caused him to contrive a new system for the collection of the colonial tribute. This change was met by determined opposition from the colonists and allowed to drop. The precedent weakened the bond

between the colonies and Spain, and was the origin of frequent insurrections. The most formidable of these was that of Jupac Amaru in the year 1780. He claimed to belong to the line of Incas, or ancient kings of Peru, whose style and dignity he assumed. The immediate cause of the revolt was an attempt of the Spaniards—scandalous even for them—to force upon the Peruvians *repartimientos* not authorised by the law. To the standard of their chief flocked sixty thousand men, and the revolt was not subdued till a third of the Peruvians had perished.

England excited the hatred of Charles III., who could not endure her possession of Gibraltar, Minorca, Florida, and Jamaica. During five years Charles carried on at an enormous cost a conflict for the recovery of these places, but without success, except in the case of Minorca. He abetted likewise the rebellion of the English North American provinces.

Peace was concluded in 1783, and the industrial arts revived. Canals were opened, roads improved, and post-offices and post-chaises brought into use; the Bank of St. Carlo was instituted, and happy results soon became visible. In 1785, native produce to the value of 337,266,601 reals, equal to £6,500,000 sterling, and foreign goods worth 429,982,185 reals, were shipped in Spanish vessels to South America. English, French, Germans, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, participated in the foreign trade. Spain tried to open up a traffic with Russia, and while only two Spanish ships passed the Sound in 1772, the number had increased to eight in 1779, and to twenty-eight in 1791. Before the close of the century Spain once more possessed a navy.

It was still computed that two hundred thousand acres of good arable land had gone out of cultivation, and as much more was left in a state of nature by the monks who were its owners. Towns were depopulated that once teemed with inhabitants. Estremadura and the two Castiles were the feeding grounds of four millions of sheep,

and thus were lost to tillage. The vested interests of the Mesta gave them authority over every acre once reduced to pasture. Such land could never afterwards be ploughed without the sanction of this powerful body, and the payment of a fine fixed by themselves. As manufacturing industry advanced, agriculture relatively fell back, especially in the interior. The sheep consumed the Spaniards, and not the Spaniards the sheep. Valencia alone could show profitable cultivation of the ground.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE NETHERLANDS :—ANTWERP AND AMSTERDAM.

#### *I.—ANTWERP.*

WHILE the Netherlands formed a part of the Spanish monarchy, the distinction between the North and South provinces was less political than one of race, the majority of the inhabitants belonging to the Teutonic family ; the Reformation, however, divided them into two hostile camps, and the difference of their creed caused that of their subsequent fortunes. Antwerp, the most prosperous of all the Flemish cities, was at its highest pitch of greatness when it shared through Lisbon the commerce of the East Indies. It almost monopolized this trade, distributing from its capacious quays the Indian goods demanded by the European markets, for Lisbon was content with its own trade as an emporium, and favoured Antwerp because it was a city under the same government. Easy conditions of citizenship, and light customs, brought a rapid influx of strangers. The population in the time of Charles V. exceeded one hundred thousand, and when despoiled by Philip II. it had almost reached a quarter of a million. New citizens brought fresh capital, and increased capacities for trade. The Fuggers and Welsers of Augsburg removed to this city, as well as the renowned house of Spinoza, and other eminent traders of Genoa and Lucca. Even Turkish merchants brought Oriental goods by way of Marseilles, overland to Bordeaux, and thence by ship to Antwerp. English, French, and German artisans, fleeing from persecution, found here liberty to enjoy their religious convictions.

Manufactories of wool, linen, tapestry, fustians, silks, and carpets flourished; the tan-yards and sugar refineries were the largest in Europe. Its glass manufactures rivalled those of Venice. Arms of every kind, silver, gold, bronze, and other metal-work and gilding, were superior to anything of the kind produced elsewhere. Navigation, with its many attendant callings, employed a multitude of people. One company of merchant adventurers employed thirty thousand men in Antwerp, besides twenty thousand others in various parts of the Low Countries. The harbour was often crowded with from two thousand to three thousand ships at once, and five hundred vessels sometimes entered and left in a single day. The freights of these vessels required ten thousand waggons, besides barges, for conveying the goods to the warehouses, and into the interior. English cloths and fabrics were imported into Antwerp to the yearly extent of two hundred thousand bales. Low as were the excise and customs dues and the market-tolls, they yielded an annual revenue of nearly two million guilders. When the Portuguese vessels traded directly with India, the commodities in which they dealt were no longer confined to spices, silks, and precious stones, of high value and small bulk, as in the time of the caravan trade, but included cotton, rice, sugar, and other heavy cargoes. To these were afterwards added the riches of the West Indies.

Antwerp, as the great European exchange, was the outlet of the industrial produce of the towns of the South Netherlands. Mechlin, Courtray, Brussels, Louvaine, Ghent, were renowned in the sixteenth century for their carpets, leather, and hardware; for cloth, manufactured from Spanish and English wool; for linen, woven from the excellent and abundant flax of Flanders, and for costly lace. Brussels harness was especially good. It was, however, as an emporium that the great wealth of Antwerp accrued. Little of the multifarious produce filling its warehouses remained in the country, except Italian silk, and Spanish and English

wool. Spices were exchanged for the productions of Germany and the North, and these again were exchanged for the products of the industrial nations of the South and West. The propriety of the term "World's Emporium" will be seen from the annexed summary of the trade of Antwerp :—

Commercial states  
for which Ant-  
werp was the  
emporium.

Nature of commodities obtained from each.

SPAIN . . .	Precious stones, pearls, gold and silver in great quantities, iron, cochineal, saffron, raw and spun silk, silk stuffs, velvet, fine wool, and line leathers; salt, alum, cream of tartar, soap, wine, vinegar, oil, honey, sugar from the Canaries, and treacle.
PORTUGAL . . .	Precious stones, pearls, gold, Indian spices (worth 1,000,000 crowns annually), ivory, cinchona or Peruvian bark, sugar from St. Thomas, Campeachy wood, Brazil wood.
ITALY . . .	Raw silks, silk fabrics, gold and silver stuffs, Parmesan cheese, Lombardy rice, Levant produce (sponges, fruits, drugs), Indian produce (spices, sugar, cotton, cinnamon).
FRANCE . . .	Principally salt, wood, paper, silk, and other fine stuffs; copperas, gilded wares, and wines.
ENGLAND . . .	Iron and lead; wool, woollen fabrics, fringes, furs, sheep-skins, and rabbit-skins; beer, cheese, and other provisions; saffron and malmsey from Candia.
SCOTLAND . . .	Leather, wool, coarse cloth, and inferior pearls.
IRELAND . . .	Hides, leather, and coarse woollens.
GERMANY . . .	Silver, quicksilver, copper, hardware, and glass; wool (from Hesse), fustian, wood; madder, and other dye-stuffs, furniture, and Rhenish wine.
DENMARK. )	{ Iron, copper, saltpetre, sulphur, potash, vitriol, and
NORWAY . . )	
SWEDEN . . )	
	amber; timber, pitch, tar, and other forest products; wool and flax, fish, honey, wax, hides, and leather.
BARBARY . . .	Leather and ostrich feathers.

It was this hive of industry and scene of prosperity that the cold and gloomy Philip of Spain gave up to carnage rather than suffer the citizens to differ from him in opinion, or obtain municipal freedom. He determined to put an end

to altercations concerning creeds, by force of arms. The Duke of Alva was made governor of the Netherlands, and during the five dreadful years of his sanguinary rule, one hundred thousand Dutch and Flemish exiles fled from their native land, and eighteen thousand perished by decree of the "Council of Troubles." A breach of the Act of Uniformity caused a man to be consigned to the axe, a woman to the stake. Informers were rewarded with half the property of their victims. The provinces were for a long time prostrate before the Spanish general, whose soldiers filled the cities of Flanders and Brabant with blood. On the 5th April, 1566, a National Remonstrance had been presented to the Viceroy at Brussels. The crowd of associates, in order to avoid any commotion, went on foot with their petition. This circumstance elicited the fatal ejaculation from a haughty Spaniard: "There can be nothing to fear from a troop of beggars." His words reached the ears of the crowd, and "Vivent les gueux!" ("Long live the beggars!") was the immediate response, a phrase which afterwards became a national cry. When, in 1570, Alva stated his intention to levy taxes by power of the crown, without the consent of the states, the Dutch were still more incited to resistance. Pirate ships, manned by fugitives calling themselves "Beggars of the Sea," preyed upon the Spanish marine, and grew rich with spoil. As their vessels increased in number, the "Beggars of the Sea," animated by the deadliest hatred against Philip, deprived him both of his ships and colonies. Enraged at his losses, Philip prepared an armada of three hundred ships of war with which to crush the Netherlands once and for ever. A pestilence seized the fleet when ready to sail, and of fifteen thousand troops on board, more than half died in less than a month; thus the Dutch were spared a struggle for life and death. The same fleet in 1588, under the name of the Invincible Armada, met with a fate upon which it is not necessary to dilate to English readers. With the destruction of

the Armada by the English, Spain declined both in wealth and power. Philip typified the kingdom he governed, for the more he injured himself by folly and wrong-doing, the more he persisted. "Better," said he, "that my subjects be beggars than heretics," and with his fleet lost, his commerce ruined, his kingdom bankrupt, he resolved to crush the intelligence, wealth, and independence of Antwerp. The siege of this prosperous and splendid city by the Duke of Parma was the great success of Philip's reign. The slaughter of three thousand citizens in cold blood, and the plunder to which the city was subjected for many days, were his reward. He had the glory of destroying a harbour where a forest of masts was wont to be seen, and of causing grass to grow in the streets of the city which had contributed to his revenues far more than any other in his wide dominions.

Before this time the United Provinces of Holland or the North Netherlands had declared themselves independent of Spain (1579); and, though the war was continued long after their independence was recognised in Europe, the inhabitants of Antwerp felt themselves secure in settling at Leyden and Amsterdam, whither they carried their strength, skill, and commercial habits. Both of these cities found it necessary on several occasions to enlarge their boundaries; and the guests, whom they enrolled during the war, proved by their valour that their enfranchisement had imbued them with the courage, devotion, and generous feelings of free men.

## *II.—AMSTERDAM.*

PHYSICAL conditions placed the Northern Netherlands second in rank to Flanders for several centuries; but those powerful barriers to material or economical progress served as a means of defence when the Dutch had to withstand the power of Spain. Before the union of the seven provinces, in 1579, the occupations of the Dutch had chiefly been cattle-rearing and the tending of dairy-farms. Their



verdant meadows fed herds of cattle, which yielded butter and cheese for exports to Spain, Portugal, and the European states. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Leyden possessed manufactures of wool and flax, but barely more was produced than was wanted for home consumption. The raw materials were obtained from England and Flanders. Fishing was an important means of subsistence in the provinces further to the north, to which must be added the profits upon ship-building, and a considerable share in the European carrying trade. About the middle of the sixteenth century the Dutch almost exclusively possessed the Baltic trade, and thus supplied the rest of Europe with northern produce. During the eighty years' war with Spain, the Dutch trained themselves in skilful and daring seamanship. When as a free people they could welcome the victims of Spanish bigotry and cruelty, trade and industry, which were utterly ruined in Flanders, flourished in the Dutch towns. Amsterdam had to be enlarged several times to accommodate the great influx of immigrants, and soon surpassed Antwerp itself. Amsterdam was renowned for adventurous seamen, familiar with every part of the globe. Ships from this city sailed over both hemispheres, its merchants were the intermediaries between belligerent powers, and did not hesitate, during the conflict with Spain, to smuggle even the munitions of war into that country. In this branch of trade alone four hundred vessels were engaged. Defying penal laws, made more and more stringent, the Dutch could not resist a good bargain, and traded with Spain, Portugal, and even Flanders, while they themselves were under the iron yoke of the Duke of Alva. Spain in its blind rage, having cut off its sole resource in destroying Antwerp (1585), was thrown hopelessly on its enemies for supplies of food and clothing. Coercive laws had made the Spaniards look upon forestalling their government as a commendable act, and there were few who were not pleased to see "our good friends the enemy" drawing inshore with goods.

The citizens of Amsterdam offered, besides free trade, the boon, almost unique in that intolerant age, of freedom of conscience to all comers. They tempted the artisans of Aix and other places to settle amongst them. These great privileges caused Holland to be selected by every emigrant whose means gave him liberty of choice. Many of the poorer emigrants went to England.

At the end of the sixteenth century there belonged to the United Provinces seventy thousand small craft, nearly a thousand ships, ranging from 200 to 700 tons burden, besides six hundred herring-smacks, from 100 to 200 tons burden. More ships are said to have entered the harbours of Amsterdam daily than there are days in the year. At the same period eight hundred ships from the Maas and Zealand, and five hundred and eighty from seven different towns on the Zuyder Zee, sailed annually to the Baltic and the western states of Europe. By the end of the century more vessels were built in the docks of Holland than by all the ship-builders in Europe besides.

Philip II. of Spain warned the Dutch from the shores of the Iberian peninsula, and closed Lisbon as well as Cadiz against them. He thus compelled them either to give up their most profitable trade, or to seek it illegally in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. This dilemma induced them to repeat the attempt to reach India by a north-east passage. The enterprise had been first suggested in 1553 by John Cabot, then Grand Pilot of England. The expedition under Willoughby in that year, though fatal to its commander, was productive of important results. Chancellor, the pilot-major of Willoughby's fleet, discovered the White Sea, and opened up Muscovy to commerce. Successful attempts, made by the Dutch in 1594, 1595, and 1596, ended in failure, for the ice obstructed the movements of the ships, which in the last expedition were winter-bound in the newly-discovered island of Nova Zembla. There was at this time imprisoned in Lisbon for debt a Dutchman, Cor-

nelius Houtman, who had made the voyage to India several times. A company established for trade in distant parts procured his release, and despatched him with four ships to open a direct trade between Holland and the East. After an absence of eighteen months he again entered the harbour of Texel, with two ships and a third of his men. He had landed at Madagascar, Bantam, Sourabaya, Madura, Bali, and everywhere had found the inhabitants hostile. Nevertheless, the fact remained that Dutch vessels had succeeded in getting to India. Another fleet of eight vessels was despatched in 1598 under Admiral Van Neck. The return of this fleet in 1599, with a large and valuable cargo, filled the Dutch with enthusiasm. The vessels had touched at the Mauritius, and, sailing onward to Bantam, separated, in order to take in their cargoes more easily. Four ships were sent home from Bantam, laden with pepper and cloves and other products, which had been obtained in exchange for scarlet cloths, coral, amber, gilt-framed mirrors, bottles, drinking-glasses, Nürnberg wares, spectacles, pins, lead, iron, helmets, and combs. Two of the remaining vessels, under the command of Vice-Admiral Warwijk, an eminent merchant, remained at Banda. The success of these early ventures gave the Dutch confidence, and imbued them with the hope of ousting the Spaniards and Portuguese from their possessions. Attention was once more turned to America, and again they resumed their search for a north-west polar route. Henry Hudson, an English navigator of proved skill and experience, sailed in 1609 as their agent, gave his name to the river, which he was the first to explore, and planted the Dutch flag upon the neighbouring lands. A prosperous voyage was made a few years later, in quest of furs and the skins of the otter and beaver. The log huts that then sheltered the seamen for a few weeks on the island of Manhattan were the mean beginnings from which arose the now noble city of New York. Olivier van Noort, with three ships and a yacht, circumnavigated the globe between 1598

and 1601. In the last of these years eighty vessels sailed from Holland for the Indies, Africa, and America. Eight of these vessels gained a complete victory over thirteen Spanish ships of larger size ; and driving off another Spanish fleet of eight ships from Bantam, the adventurers formed a settlement there, and assumed the trade of that place. Unable to resist the Dutch by force of arms, the Portuguese and Spanish maligned them to the natives as pirates. The Dutch met the charges in a characteristic manner, by offering better terms for Indian spices, indigo, and silks. They selected their outward freights with great judgment ; they carried with them to Holland envoys from one suspicious rajah, that the representations they had made to him might be tested. Jacob van Heemskerk had the excellent fortune to capture a Portuguese merchant-vessel, manned by eighty sailors, and laden with a valuable cargo. Judiciously sending back the crew without ransom to Goa, he detained as prisoners the shipmaster and captain only, for whose liberation the Spanish viceroy wrote an urgent letter, full of courteous acknowledgments for the generous treatment of the crew. This letter was shown in answer to any further calumnies. In 1609, a truce for twelve years was signed. Spain obstinately withheld the recognition of the independence of the United Provinces till the Peace of Munster in 1648, when, prostrated by the results of the Thirty Years' War, she acknowledged what had so long been the fact. When relieved from the tyranny of their oppressors, the Dutch might have been described as the reverse of everything Spanish. To the bondage of labour and the slavery of mind, they steadily opposed freedom of trade and liberty of opinion. They took for their province the whole range of trade, producing in their Indian settlements, and buying and selling in every open port. While Spain gradually sank from the pinnacle of glory to utter ruin, Holland rose to the position of the wealthiest community in Europe.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE NETHERLANDS (*continued*).

#### *I.—THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.*

IN 1602 was formed, under a charter granted for twenty-one years, the celebrated Dutch East India Company, on the model of the still more renowned East India Company of England, established two years earlier. Its origin was suggested by the collision of interests between the numerous existing mercantile companies both in the Indies and in Europe. Fleets of merchant-ships in such rapid succession reached the Indian shores that they had sometimes to go away empty, the markets being exhausted. By the charter thus obtained, petty rivalries were subdued, and the companies coalesced with a joint capital of 6,500,000 guilders, subscribed by the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, Enkhuysen, and Middelburg. The constitution of this great company consisted of a governor-general, as head of the administration, and an Indian Council. Each of the subscribing cities was represented by a college or chamber, chosen from a list of sixty-seven directors, who in turn were selected from the chief shareholders. The council had the power of declaring war and peace, but the States-General, while requiring the company to bear every expense and responsibility, reserved the right to share in the profits, and even if desirable to nationalise the undertaking, and assume its future control. To keep these reserved powers in view, treaties were always signed in the name of the States-General; the office of governor was made a state commission, and the company's

charter could be renewed only on petition, and payment of a fine. That this payment was more than nominal may be gathered from the fact that 3,000,000 guilders for renewal of privileges were paid during the forty-four years between 1696 and 1740, besides 364,000 guilders, and eight 24-pounder guns, paid in 1700, for the redemption of the customs duties.

A few statistics will show the rapid progress made by this company. Shares of 3,000 guilders were afterwards worth 18,000. The net profit upon the cargoes of forty-three ships which returned, out of forty-six which were despatched during the first six years of the company's existence, was estimated as equal in value to two hundred and thirty tons of gold, or more than £32,000,000 sterling. After the first renewal of the charter, the average profits were reckoned at 3,000,000 ducats yearly. With a nominal capital of about half a million sterling, the company kept equipped an army and a navy against which the power of Spain and Portugal contended in vain.

The dividends of five years are here recorded :—

Date.	R. P. C.	Date.	R. P. C.
July, 1605 . .	15	August, 1610 .	50
May, 1606 . .	75	December, 1612	57½
July, 1607 . .	40	August, 1615 .	42½
April, 1608 . .	20	February, 1616.	62½
June, 1609 . .	25	April, 1620. .	37½

Except in a few extraordinary years, when the dividend fell to 10 per cent., there was not for a whole century, beginning with 1620, a division of profits below 12½ per cent., while in many years the division exceeded 50 per cent.

The Dutch were not excited by those visions of American gold and ~~which~~ ~~and~~ inflamed the imaginations of the Spaniards. They saw how to transmute the spices, camphor, sugar, coffee, rice, indigo, cotton, dyes, drugs,

cabinet woods, silks, and hides, the perennial produce of India, into vaster stores of precious stones, gold and silver, than could be obtained from the Spanish mines. Wealth in these coveted forms, nevertheless, was not despised, for the gems of Golconda gave rise to the art of diamond-cutting, introduced by Jews driven from Lisbon to Amsterdam, for which the city has ever since been renowned.

The Dutch East India Company brought order into the commerce with the East. Fixed times were appointed for the sailing of the fleets. Spring, autumn, and winter regularly saw the despatch of about forty vessels, laden with bullion, and with commodities suited to Indian wants. Spanish jealousy made this trade one of risk and danger. Pirates swarmed in the Indian seas. The Dutch merchantmen defended themselves bravely. Their ships went armed; if they fought it was for commerce, not for empire, although territory followed victory. In a few years they had compelled eleven Spanish galleons to strike their flags, and had crippled forty others, and Spain was reduced to purchase of the hated Dutch the nutmegs, mace, cloves, and pepper, upon which she had up to this time exacted import, export, and even transhipment duties to an amount computed in all at five hundred tons of gold, or about £70,000,000 sterling. Many Dutch factories were established, but the head-quarters were at Bantam in Java. The Javanese eventually improved upon Dutch shrewdness in striking a bargain, and imposed duties so heavy as to be more than comparable with those imposed by Spain. Rather than submit, the settlers determined to choose another depot, and thus brought the lord of Bantam to his senses. Anxious not to lose the profits brought by the Dutch settlers, he offered them a convenient site for a town at Kalappa or Jacatra, about one hundred miles from Bantam, a spot already possessed by the English, who had a factory there. A Dutch commander, J. P. Koen, however, took the town after severe conflicts with the natives and the English, and Batavia, the "Pearl of the East," the residence

of the Dutch governor-general, and the seat of government, arose upon its site. This city contained before the close of the modern period, one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants.\* Finally, there sprang up eight governments under the rule of the governor-general. These were Celebes, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Macassar, Malacca, Coromandel, and the Cape of Good Hope. From the first the Moluccas were regarded with an envious eye. Conflicts ensued, and the Portuguese were driven from the islands.

The Dutch did not succeed in China. Macao was successfully defended by the Portuguese, and the Chinese drove them out of Formosa in 1662. On the other hand, they secured a monopoly of trade with Japan, which lasted throughout the modern period, though limited to the small island of Decima, near Nagaski, and coupled with conditions of personal indignity unendurable by a high-spirited people, but accepted by the Dutch for the great profits of the trade. Ultimately the company acquired possessions which it was equally beyond their power to maintain and their will to forego. Having driven out the former owners, they spurned the thought that any one should share the spoil; and even warred against nature to prevent such an occurrence. Amboyna was fixed upon for the exclusive growth of the clove, as was Banda for that of the nutmeg. The spice plantations elsewhere were rooted up, in some instances the natives being paid to destroy them. Penal laws were enacted against the cultivation of these spices in other islands, and smuggling was stringently guarded against. The immediate consequence was an increase in profits, the gain on cloves and nutmegs being 800 per cent.; the after results were of a less favourable nature. No enactments of the Dutch, however, could prevent the birds carrying the seeds from one island to the other.

The Dutch, not caring to fight so long as the Javanese

\* The population has been diminished by an earthquake, but the town is still a very considerable place.



fought among themselves, fomented quarrels between the various states, looked on until the disputants became too enfeebled to continue their conflicts, and then easily took possession of their territories. Java eventually became a dependency of the company. By degrees, the whole of the Sunda group became a Dutch possession. The half of Timor, the chief island of the Little Sundas, noted for the abundance of sandal-wood, was acquired in 1613. A Portuguese settlement on the island of Celebes remained in 1660, to the discomfort of the Dutch. A secret Portuguese traffic was even carried on with the Moluccas. The Portuguese were punished by dispersion, their settlement at Macassar was taken in retaliation for carrying on the forbidden trade: the princes of the interior were rendered dependent upon new masters. Though Borneo was rich in diamonds and gold, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century (1747) that the Dutch availed themselves of its resources for commerce.

There appeared to be a tacit understanding that the commerce of the English East India Company should be carried on with the western peninsula of India, while the Dutch should in like manner confine their trade to further India and the islands. Monopoly of trade was a feature of this period; quarrels between the rival companies consequently ensued, to put a stop to which a treaty was concluded in 1619, and a joint and equitable arrangement was come to for the costs of defence and for sharing the commerce. The sum of £80,000 was paid by the Dutch in token of good faith, and as compensation for injuries suffered at their hands by the English.

These stipulations, nevertheless, were broken in a year. The Dutch garrison in Amboyna consisted of three hundred men, who viewed the English factory and garrison of fourteen men with great distrust. In 1623, Towerson, the chief of the English factory, with twelve of the men, were seized by the Dutch authorities on a charge of conspiracy,

and put to the torture till they confessed themselves guilty, when ten of the number, with as many Javanese, were executed. It is almost impossible to believe that so small a band of Englishmen could seriously have thought of overturning the Dutch power, and on the other hand, that the Dutch would have gone through the publicity of a trial merely to compass the death of the English, when they could at any time have incited the natives to murder them. A bitter embroilment with England followed this merciless act. The feeble government of that time could not bring the matter to a satisfactory issue, but it was not forgotten, and the vigour of Cromwell eventually compelled the Dutch to pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 guilders (£85,000), and to cede to England the island of Paleron (Polo-rhun). Meanwhile several millions sterling had been wasted by both companies in indeterminate conflicts.

Charles II., hating the Dutch for their scant sympathy towards himself during his profligate exile, declared war against Holland, and obtained from parliament the then enormous sum of £2,500,000, much of which he expended in the gratification of his own corrupt pleasures. For a bribe of 400,000 guilders the king delayed the sailing of twenty-three ships, which had been equipped to regain the English possessions in Java. Peace was not concluded for several years.

Dutch aggression drove the Portuguese from Malacca (1641), from Ceylon (1658), and subsequently from Cochin and Cananore on the Malabar coast. The loss of Formosa was a severe blow to the Dutch: it was the only place where they had been able to hold free intercourse with the Chinese. They had been invited there by the government, and had raised great crops of sugar and rice. It had been the centre of their trade with Canton, Japan, Java, Siam, and the Philippines. Their expulsion from the "Beautiful Island" was accomplished by Coxinga, a Chinese (whose father had been executed for piracy), at the head of one

hundred thousand followers, after it had been held for thirty-eight years, from 1624 to 1662. After this the Dutch-Chinese trade was restricted to Canton. The Cape of Good Hope was thought little of, except as an agricultural colony, and as a convenient place of call both for outward and homeward bound fleets. Fostering the growth of native produce, the Dutch encouraged industry in the colonies, and gave it an additional impulse at home. The natives acquired a taste for European goods, and increased the produce of their soil, in order to obtain the means for purchasing them. The Dutch procured many large additions to their store of luxuries by the influx of oriental productions, and made large profit upon the goods they carried to India. So many thousands of persons, it was observed, were set to work by means of this trade to the East, that there was not to be seen at Amsterdam one idle vagabond or beggar. The Dutch did not altogether escape the vice with which the age was leavened. Their conquest of Amboyna was facilitated by the desire of the natives to get rid of their old masters, who for many years had treated them with the greatest cruelty. Unhappily, the natives found the Dutch no better than the Portuguese, and the island became a scene of constant strife for possession of power. The Dutch were harsh and vindictive ; and in their struggles with England in after years, they received no aid from the natives. As the Dutch gained the ascendancy, their power, which had been at first defensive, became aggressive. "They were severe and exact in keeping their own plantations to themselves ;" and, while their good judgment guided them in the terms of their treaties with the English, they were ill-pleased that the stipulations should be acted upon. Mill, the historian of British India, remarks that "the first expeditions of the English were more piratical than commercial ;" nevertheless, it was better policy to court their friendship than to excite their animosity. The selfish policy of destroying the clove and nutmeg trees caused the French and English to

attempt the cultivation of these spices in their own tropical colonies ; and the cruelty to the English at Amboyna gave a keener edge to the retaliation by which in course of time the Dutch lost their chief possessions. The naval and military power of the Dutch East India Company became at last enormous. Of ships of war carrying from twenty to sixty guns, they had, when powerful, one hundred and fifty, besides fifty smaller vessels, and an army of corresponding magnitude. The States-General had from time to time to subsidise the company in order to enable the directors to carry on their wars. Thus, while private individuals amassed large fortunes, Holland was borne down by a load of taxation for the maintenance of costly colonies.

## *II.—WEST INDIA COMPANY.*

THE Dutch had from the first taken some share in the trade with America. While a dependency of Spain, the Netherlands were not so completely excluded from the Spanish possessions as were alien nations. Under the flag of Charles V., trading companies had trafficked with the west coast of Africa and with the West Indies. Caring little for the home policy, the governors of distant settlements could not resist the temptation of a cargo of useful commodities of European manufacture at a cheaper rate than was supplied by their own government. Evasion of home decrees, and even their open infraction, became common. Netherland ships, to the number of one hundred and twenty, were engaged in the West Indian trade in 1579. The chief ports visited were those of St. Domingo and Brazil, and the produce obtained was principally dye-woods and sugar.

Portugal and Spain affected to monopolise the trade of the East and the West. The West Indian trade embraced every part of the world except those countries under the

East India Company. It took in the whole of America, and, in virtue of the pope's bull, extended over the Pacific to the coast of Asia and the Spice Islands. The Gulf of Guinea, not being visited by the East India merchants, also became an integral portion of the West Indian trade. The Island of Principe, or Prince's Island, in this gulf, was, however, seized by a Dutch trader, and held against the Portuguese. A Dutch settlement was made in 1612 upon the gold coast, and a fort erected for its protection. Twenty vessels were soon employed in the Guinea trade. While the Eighty Years' War lasted, the Dutch visited these stations at the peril of their lives; but they grew so bold, and increased their naval strength so much, as to become a match for their former masters. Under these circumstances, the Dutch West India Company was formed. 'Twenty years' experience had proved the advantages of a union of traders, and the vast profits of a regulated trade to the East Indies; why not, therefore, also combine the individual merchants who traded with the West Indies, and carry on the ventures under the auspices of a great company? The circumstances under which the two companies were formed differed in principle. India had been the storehouse of the choicest produce of the earth throughout the historic period. Trade there awaited enterprise. The Portuguese claimed prior possession, but the Dutch were driven to visit India by the closing of Lisbon against them; and its productive area was so large, that enough could be found for both nations. The regions of the New World were entirely Spanish, and with that power the Dutch were at war. Reprisals, not trade, was therefore the primary object in the formation of the new company. It was the inauguration of privateering. America as yet produced but little beyond the precious metals. The varied elements of commerce, in which India was so rich, did not exist. Trade, such as the Dutch already enjoyed in the East, would have to be created and watched in its growth; every settlement

must be a conquest, guarded by a garrison, and a great fleet would be necessary upon the seas. Facts like these had arrested similar projects before ; but what could resist the dividends of the East India Company? A capital of 7,200,000 guilders was readily contributed in twelve hundred shares of 6,000 guilders each, and the Dutch West India Company was incorporated by charter of the States-General, June 3rd, 1621, with exclusive privileges of trade over two-thirds of the globe, and with powers, held on a lease of twenty-four years, similar to those enjoyed by the East India Company.

With their national caution, the Dutch sent out a pilot venture of a few ships carrying neutral colours, which did some profitable trade in hides with Cuba and St. Domingo. By degrees the trade was extended to sugar, wood, ginger, and cochineal. This was slow work for adventurers in whom the profits of the Eastern trade had excited a spirit of gambling. In 1624 a mission of conquest was organized. A fleet of thirty-six vessels seized San Salvador and its garrison of thirteen hundred men. Privateers multiplied fast. Within the first five years (1623-8) the company fitted out eight hundred vessels, and made prizes of five hundred and forty-five Spanish and Portuguese merchant-ships, amongst the rest, in 1628, that of the Plate or Silver Fleet, with treasure, according to Dutch authority, valued at 15,000,000 guilders. In the same year they plundered the Cuban settlements, and gained an enormous booty. Meanwhile, dividends of 20, 50, and 100 per cent. were annually shared, and the company's stock was quoted higher than that of the older company. The costly war with Spain, protracted by mutual resentment long after its purpose was served, could never have been defrayed but for those immense drafts upon the wealth of that country, which thus was made to provide the means for its own defeat. The enormous gains of war put those of industry and commerce into the shade. In 1630 St. Eustace and Curaçoa were

garrisoned, and Brazil was likewise invaded. The transport of negro slaves from the Gulf of Guinea to the American settlements was carried on very extensively, and exceeded in value all the other branches of legitimate commerce.

Besides San Salvador and various West Indian Islands, the possessions of the company at different periods comprised portions of North America with Brazil and Guiana.

*North America.*—The Bay of New York is supposed to have been discovered by Verrazano, a Florentine, in the year 1524. In 1609, Hudson sailed up the river to which he gave his name, as far as Albany, and from this time Dutch traders visited the place to obtain furs from the Indians. No settlement was founded till 1614, but afterwards trading stations rapidly sprang up. One colony was named the New Netherlands, and its capital New Amsterdam. Fort Orange was erected twenty-five miles to the north. Forts Hartford and Good Hope advanced still further northward. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company, then just incorporated, took possession by charter of the colony, and found its bay an invaluable rendezvous for the fleet cruising to protect the Newfoundland fisheries, or to engage in aggressive acts against Spain. In 1634 the Swedes built Forts Christina, Kasimir, Helsingborg, Gijps-holm, New Vaza, and New Gothenburg, and named the whole district New Sweden. Between 1620 and 1640 there was an English immigration, commencing with the landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers," whose first settlement was at Plymouth, now a city in the state of Massachusetts. The new-comers called their colony New England, a name destined to take a foremost place in the history of the United States.

The next few years were marked by contests between the rival colonists. The Swedes and Netherlanders combined to drive the English away from the neighbourhood of the Hudson. Taking advantage some years later (1654) of

a war between England and Holland, the Swedes overpowered the Dutch colonists. The Dutch returned in triumph the following year, and chased the Swedes out of the settlement. Until 1664 the Dutch were supreme. The English, however, had thriven in the meantime, and now wrested the colony from the Dutch, leaving them in possession of only few places. They also renamed the capital New York, in honour of the Duke of York. This was again, in 1673, reconquered by the Dutch, but ceded to the English by treaty, at the conclusion of the war.

*Brazil.*—In 1623, the Dutch West India Company took Bahia, the capital of Brazil, which was poorly defended, although Mendoza, the governor, when deserted by his militia, resisted till he was captured in his palace. Portugal could not calmly submit to so great a loss. A fleet and army under Archbishop Michael Texeiro, in 1626, blockaded Bahia or San Salvador, reduced the garrison by starvation, and for five years remained undisturbed masters of their own colony. Another Dutch expedition, sent out in 1629, consisting of sixty men-of-war, with a force of three thousand five hundred soldiers, took Pernambuco or Olinda, and then, for the second time, San Salvador, or Bahia, and great booty was secured. No effort of the Portuguese could for a whole generation dislodge the Dutch, who, in 1643, had extended their conquests over one-half of the Portuguese provinces. The home government now sent out Count John Maurice of Nassau, in 1636, to assume the command. When Portugal became again an independent state, an alliance was entered into with Holland, and a suspension of hostilities agreed upon for ten years. Count Maurice was recalled, and the government of Brazil was placed in commission, under an Amsterdam merchant, a goldsmith of Haarlem, and a carpenter of Middelburg. Foreseeing no danger, these councillors took no precautions against surprise, but rather courted attack by neglecting the defences, selling the ammunition, and granting indiscrimi-



nate leave of absence to the soldiers. They lavished the public money on palaces, and encouraged enervating indulgences among the planters. Pestilence carried off vast numbers of the slaves, and the West India Company were at length called upon to pay heavy debts, the colony pledging itself to redeem the amount. Jodo Fernandez de Piera, a settler of Portuguese origin, who had risen from the position of office-boy to that of factor, and had at last become the head of a house of business and the possessor of a large fortune, devoted his energies and wealth for ten years to the attempt to regain the country for his own nation. He fought bravely from 1645 to 1654, rescuing province after province from the Dutch, till they were at last confined to the town of Pernambuco. Holland, engaged in war with England, lent no aid to her colonists, while Portugal, pretending to disavow the course taken by De Piera, secretly supported him. The Dutch persisted in thinking the rising of no importance, until in January, 1654, they were compelled to surrender their last stronghold, and evacuate Brazil. By the peace of 1660, Holland renounced all claims upon the territory, and, through English intervention, a treaty was signed, binding Portugal to compensate the Dutch by a payment of 8,000,000 guilders, to cover the advances made by the West India Company, but there is no record of this provision of the treaty ever having been carried out.

*Guiana.*—The forts built in the American possessions and the maintenance of their defenders were costly charges, and a source of great solicitude to the home government. The completion of Dutch conquest brought about a diminution of spoil, long before the ardour of the adventurers cooled down to the sober work of cultivating the ground. It began to be perceived at home that plunder was not reproductive. The cost of protection of the Dutch citizens fell upon the States-General, and was continually augmenting. Taxes were imposed, till almost every neces-

sary of life was thus burdened. A spirit of lawlessness was evoked by the very nature of the business in which the Company engaged. Might was everywhere the law. Hostilities were ever ready to break out, where a chance of success offered. There were none of the international sympathies of peaceful trade. Dutch, Swedes, and English, on the Delaware and Hudson, watched with jealous eyes for a weak moment which would give them a chance of appropriating each other's property. Envy and hatred between England and Holland, if they did not actually promote war, stirred up spiteful broils to the detriment of both states. In the settlements on the Hudson, Holland lost a centre of expansion, which the Anglo-Saxon race developed into the republic of the United States. In Brazil a like chance was lost, and that vast and productive country was thrown back into the hands of a people incapable of learning from experience, and wedded to the ancient policy of placing trade under restrictions. All that remained of the West India Company's possessions on the mainland of America were the settlements in the province of Guiana (so named from the Guyano Indians), a district which covers an area of six hundred and fifty thousand square miles. Brazilian and Venezuelan (Spanish or Columbian) Guiana, occupied five-sixths of this territory, the Dutch being established only on the deltas of the Amazon and the Orinoco. A Dutch settlement had been planted on the Demerara river from the year 1590. Guiana was occupied on account of its rich productions by various European powers, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of its climate. The divisions of the country are Surinam, still belonging to Holland; Cayenne, now a French penal settlement for political offences; Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, which form the district now called British Guiana.

Amidst the marshes of the South American coast, pestilential to other settlers, the Dutch were comparatively at

home. With beaver-like diligence they built embankments, dug canals, and drained the swamps. Peasants were sent out from the mother-country to cultivate the plantations. Paramaribo, the only town of Surinam, was founded, and the forts of Amsterdam and Sommelsdijk were erected. Sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, in yearly increasing quantities, well rewarded the labour of the planters. The introduction of the coffee plant into Surinam, in 1718, was a success so great, that the French in 1726 followed the example, and began its cultivation in their West Indian settlements. From 1765 to 1775, colonial produce sent to Holland in exchange for manufactures, was of the annual average value of over 8,000,000 guilders. Comparatively few of the owners of estates lived in Surinam, and the plantations were managed by overseers or agents. In addition to the home traffic, an active and profitable commerce was pursued with the growing colonies of North America, and a more hazardous but also a more profitable trade was illicitly carried on with the Spanish settlements. Notwithstanding its general prosperity, Surinam had many reverses. Contentions with the home government were frequent. The French, who had occupied Cayenne from 1633, occasionally proved themselves hostile neighbours. Essequibo, founded by the Dutch in 1627, was invaded by the French and English in 1666. Again in 1712 the French landed in Surinam, and made an almost ruinous levy upon the colonists. More serious troubles arose with the slaves. The traffic in negroes brought its own retribution. Vigorous negroes, who as free labourers would have been industrious, and would have fought for the stake they possessed in the soil, as slaves grew lazy, and worked only under fear of the lash. Thousands fled from bondage into the woods, where it was in vain to follow them. The fugitives leagued together under the name of Maroons, made raids upon Surinam and Essequibo in 1749, 1772, and 1774, destroying the plantations everywhere. The

colonial troops were almost powerless for defence or retaliation, for the invaders took refuge in the depths of the woods, and there maintained a savage independence. This thorn, planted by the Dutch in their own flesh, was never removed while slavery lasted. Statistics for 1780 indicate a high degree of prosperity in Surinam. There were at that date four hundred plantations, and a population of more than eighty thousand inhabitants; seven-eighths of whom were slaves. Among the rest were seven thousand whites, five hundred mulattoes, and two hundred and fifty free negroes. Fifteen hundred troops, and a militia of two thousand citizens were kept in pay, and trained to arms.

*Essequibo*.—During the first century of the existence of this colony, it was not prosperous. Only one fort, that of Zeelandia, was erected on the river from which the settlement takes its name, and there were no towns. Like Surinam, Essequibo exchanged its sugar, coffee, cotton, and rum for Dutch manufactures, and also carried on business with North America.

*Demerara*. The productive valley of the Demerara river induced planters from the Essequibo to fix upon it for cultivation as early as the year 1740, and one hundred and forty plantations, producing large quantities of sugar, coffee, cacao, and cotton, sprang up in the next thirty years. In 1778, as many as fifteen ships were freighted from these settlements, with 230,000 pounds of cotton, 200 hogsheads of sugar, and 4,000,000 pounds of coffee.

*Berbice*.—Settlements upon the river Berbice were made by the Dutch West India Company early in the seventeenth century. For a hundred and fifty years its progress was so slow, that it does not appear even to have invited attack. A few English colonists made it their home, but had to surrender their plantations to the Dutch at the peace of Breda in 1667. Before the eighteenth century closed prosperity began to appear, and exports of coffee, sugar, cacao, and cotton, were made to Europe. Arnatto, a dye

stuff, producing deep red and orange colours, was a special export.

During the war with France, England held the Dutch settlements from 1795 to 1802, when they were restored. The breaking of the peace in the next year led to their recapture.

*West Indian Islands.*—The insular possessions of the Dutch were unimportant in extent, and served rather as smuggling haunts than as plantations or trading stations. Amongst them Curaçoa stood foremost in importance, though but a rocky island of the Caribbean Sea, eight and a half square miles in extent, and of little fertility, dependent upon rain for water, and on the neighbouring land for food. It was taken from the Spaniards in 1634, after being in their possession more than one hundred years. Small quantities of sugar, cotton, indigo, maize, and tobacco were grown. The island was inhabited by a community of eight thousand whites and six thousand negroes. Willemstad or Curaçoa, the capital, is on its southern slope, towards Terra Firma, from which the island is ten miles distant. From the sea the steep rocks can be seen at a great distance, and vessels can sail in deep water round the island within a cable's length of the shore. There are several good harbours. That by which the capital is approached is the principal. Its entrance is narrow, and is defended by fort Amsterdam. Curaçoa was one of the finest of the West Indian cities, though consisting wholly of wharves and stores filled with European produce. Dutch penetration saw into its advantages as a station for contraband trade. Nature appeared to have reared it from the deep to defeat the folly of ignorant Spanish rulers. Curacao became the smugglers' island, the whole population engaging in the traffic. Men, however, engaged in such pursuits soon learnt to spurn the steady labour of husbandry and handicraft, and in consequence, such islands formed a striking contrast to the busy Dutch settlements on the mainland.

Fleets openly sailed from Curaçoa freighted with contraband produce from the Spanish plantations and mines. French traders especially made use of the island for smuggling. In time of war it was the scene of wonderful activity, being the emporium of all the belligerents in turn, and the depot of arms and martial stores. Curaçoa was captured by the English in 1798, and again in 1806. On the first occasion it was restored by the treaty of Amiens, and on the second at the general peace of 1814.

*St. Eustatius*, one of the Leeward Islands, not far from Curaçoa, and like that island in its rocky character, contained fifteen thousand inhabitants, who made a profession of smuggling, and grew wealthy on its profits. This island is a volcanic cone rising out of the sea. A great central hollow, the lair of many wild beasts, plainly indicates an extinct crater. The soil is not unfertile, and Dutch industry in recent times has clothed it with exuberant crops. It was colonised in 1697. Lord Rodney captured it in 1781, and with it prizes to the value of £4,000,000. England had to surrender it soon after to France, which power placed the Dutch again in possession. The war of independence waged by the states of North America against England was a period of great profit to the smugglers of St. Eustatius. Both French and English vessels carried Dutch papers, and sailed under the neutral Dutch flag. At this time Spanish, English, Danish, and more than all, French colonial produce, poured into the harbour of St. Eustatius, which, difficult of entry by nature, was made impregnable by art. About fifty ships were engaged in this trade, bringing raw materials, provisions, East Indian spices, and multifarious wares from Europe.

*Stations in Africa : Guinea Coast.*—Holland traded with the coast of Guinea from the year 1595, and it was not long before the desire showed itself of supplanting the Por-

tuguese and Spaniards. In 1630 the Portuguese settlers were expelled from the whole coast of Guinea, and the Dutch traders installed themselves in the settlements of Angola, Arguin, and Goree. The chief trade of the company was in slaves and gold. Portugal, Holland, England, and France have contended with variable success for these settlements. The Dutch claim to have introduced gum arabic into Europe from these parts. In 1690 the French held possession of Arguin, and exported thence one thousand tons of gum arabic, with large quantities of heron and ostrich feathers and ambergris. Arguin is thought to be the Cerne of Hanno's voyage, a supposition to which the existence of what appear to be Punic cisterns lends probability. When peace was made with Spain in 1648, pillage ceased, and consequently the West India Company's dividends ended. At length the company in 1674 became bankrupt. A new company arose, but never acquired much influence. Free trade was decreed by the States-General in 1734; an *ad valorem* duty of 2 per cent. on the cargo clearing every government charge. In 1790 the second company died a natural death. The colonies under its charge had two years previously been seized by England as a penalty for the too hasty recognition of American independence by the Dutch, and the conclusion of a commercial treaty between them and the United States.

We cannot summarise the history of the great West India Company without noticing the contrast with its contemporary. Despite manifold faults of judgment committed by the East India Company, it survived. The failure of the younger company was a warning to the older. From the year 1674 no Eastern conquests were attempted. Trade prospered, and the dividends ranged from 10 to 20 per cent. In 1729 the proprietary was able to pay the large fine of 3,600,000 guilders for the renewal of their charter. About a fifth of the produce was used for home consumption; the remaining four-fifths being exchanged for the

productions of France, Germany, Sweden, and Russia. In 1772 the value of the East India Company's freights was estimated at 20,000,000 guilders.

Mr. McGregor in his commercial tariffs gives the following as the company's bill of lading for the year 1734 :—

Spices . . . . .	6,331,027 lbs.
Sugar . . . . .	2,404,428 lbs.
Coffee . . . . .	3,997,759 lbs.
Drugs . . . . .	1,549,463 lbs.
Tea . . . . .	415,970 chests.
Saltpetre . . . . .	369,577 lbs.
Indigo . . . . .	1,807,210 lbs.
Calico . . . . .	209,748 pieces.
Yarn . . . . .	92,441 lbs.
Silk . . . . .	21,205 pieces.
Raw silk . . . . .	62,015 lbs.
Chinese porcelain . . . . .	525,233 pieces.
Chinese tin . . . . .	354,000 lbs.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE NETHERLANDS (*concluded*).

#### *I.—DUTCH FISHERIES.*

THE development of the fishing trade was rapid, and its extent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is well-nigh incredible. It required in 1520, for the protection of the lives and property of the fishermen, nine ships of war. The Emperor Charles V., ruler of the Netherlands, in 1541 concluded a treaty with James V. of Scotland, principally bearing upon the herring fishery. At this time its annual value was estimated at 8,100,000 guilders, and the weight of fish taken at eighty thousand tons. In 1601, it is said, that in three days fifteen hundred busses, or herring craft, sailed from the maritime towns of Holland. Sir Walter Raleigh, a few years later, 1605, computed that three thousand Dutch fishing-boats, manned by fifty thousand hands, came over every year to the fishing grounds of England and Ireland, and three times that number of hands were employed in the connected industries. The yearly value of the catch was then calculated at nearly £2,000,000 sterling.

De Witt in his memoirs, when the trade had still further increased, said it seemed to him that the whole wealth of the country sprang from, and rested upon, its fisheries. The capital invested, together with a year's charges, including wages, he reckoned at 10,000,000 guilders, which four prosperous trips would amply reimburse. Benjamin Worsley, an English writer of the seventeenth century, in a similar computation remarked that the Dutch fisheries realised more every year than the value of the combined manufactures of Eng-

land and France. A report of the English Board of Trade estimated the fisheries at the annual value of £3,000,000 sterling, a sum exceeding what the Spaniards then drew annually from the American mines. Aitzema, in his commercial memoirs, also states that the weight of herrings caught and cured was seldom under three hundred thousand tons every year. These calculations are verified by the books of the maritime custom-houses, in which were accurately entered the number of craft and men engaged, and the value of the cargoes.

In the reign of James I., English jealousy took away the license of fishing in British waters enjoyed by the Dutch for centuries, and imposed besides heavy duties upon all Dutch commodities. When the mutual injury to both countries was represented by the States-General, the vacillating monarch restored the fishing privileges, but retained the prohibitory duties on goods. Charles I. in 1636 peremptorily forbade the Dutch to fish on the English coast, and withdrew a covenanted right from a state with which he was on terms of amity, while his own subjects almost utterly neglected the fisheries. A convoy now accompanied the herring fleet for its protection. A great literary controversy ensued regarding maritime rights. Selden wrote his *Mare Clausum* (the Restricted Sea), to prove the right of the English to exclude aliens from their waters; to which Grotius replied with his *Mare Liberum* (the Free Sea). Graswinkel, a Dutch writer, also attempted a refutation of Selden, for which the States-General awarded him a pension of 500 guilders. In 1652 Blake defeated the protecting convoy, and captured many of the fishing-boats. Great injury was done to the fishing interests throughout the war that raged between England and Holland, from 1652 to 1654. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Dutch fisheries greatly declined. Sweden was the first rival in the trade, catching and curing annually one hundred and thirty thousand tons of herrings, a large part of

which was exported to countries formerly supplied by Holland. A Hanoverian fishing company from the town of Embden sent out six herring-boats in the year 1770, fourteen in 1776, and forty-five in 1786; and from this pursuit the company at last obtained a clear annual profit of 200,000 guilders.

England and France at length awoke to the value of their fisheries. Billingsgate, the great London market, became more and more supplied by native fishermen. The English herring fisheries assumed great commercial importance. Bloaters, or half-salted herrings, for which Yarmouth has long enjoyed a reputation, pleased consumers better than the pickled herrings of the Dutch. Fresh herrings also became a cheap and abundant source of food for the poor. Holland, weighed down by an enormous accumulation of debt which compelled her to place heavy imposts upon articles of commerce, found her industries decay, and her fisheries, though still important, reduced to nothing compared with their former prosperity, when "these industrious Dutch," as a French journal of the day observes, "vended their salt fish over the whole earth, exchanging it for other goods, or for gold and silver."

*Minor or Whale Fisheries.*—The sight of a leviathan or sea-monster in the early days of navigation, excited great alarm in the minds of seamen, who, to secure the safety of their vessels, would strive to frighten the unwelcome visitor with the blasts of trumpets, or "throw a tub to the whale" upon which to expend its rage. Norsemen, Icelanders, Greenlanders, Finns, Lapps, Russians, and Basques, were the first to acquire for the power of the whale that contempt which familiarity is said to breed. The Basques taught the Dutch the art of pursuing whales, walruses, and seals, and of boiling them down for their oil, and for many years supplied harpooners for the Dutch crews. There is no early record of whale fisheries among the Germans, Dutch, Danes, English, French, Portuguese, or Spaniards. The Dutch turned their attention to this source of profit about the year

1550, and the English rather later. Small companies combined to furnish the expensive outfit of the whalers. At first whales were found in abundance around Spitzbergen, where the English and Dutch founded whaling stations. Smeerenburg was the name given to the Dutch settlement, and warehouses, the framework of which was constructed piecemeal in Amsterdam, were there put together. In 1614 a general company of merchants received for three years, in consideration of the cost of their equipment, a grant of the exclusive privilege of fishing for whales in the northern seas. The charter was renewed for four years in 1617, for twelve years in 1622, and for five years in 1634. In 1645 the States-General, considering the navigation of the northern seas known, and the trade established, threw the fishery open—a condition increasing thereby its proceeds tenfold, whereby, says De Witt, “great numbers get their bread.” Spitzbergen was abandoned as a whaling ground when the fishery was made free.

One great element of cost in these voyages was that of casualties at sea, and when the whales, driven off by the incessant pursuit, betook themselves to Davis’s Strait, the shores of Greenland, and higher latitudes, the dangers were multiplied. As many as twenty vessels were sometimes lost in the ice in one year. The extent and value of this industry in 1797 are to be gathered from the appended statistics :

Dutch vessels engaged in whale fishery . . . .	129
Stranded . . . . . 7	} 129
Returned . . . . . 122	
Whales killed . . . . . 1,225	
Yield of oil . . . . . 41,344 casks.	
Value per cask . . . . . 30 guilders.	
Total value of oil . . . . .	1,240,320 guilders.
Whalebone sold . . . . .	1,255,000 „
Total . . . . .	2,495,320 „

The whole proceeds, amounting to about two and a half

millions of guilders, left a very large margin of profit upon the outlay. An average of twelve whales to a ship was reckoned as the result of the fishing in the years 1698, 1701, 1705, and 1714. In 1736, one hundred Dutch whalers were sent to Greenland, and ninety-one to Davis's Strait. In 1737 the numbers were respectively one hundred and six and eighty-eight; and in 1738 they stood at one hundred and twenty-two and seventy-four.

Incidental traffic with the natives in bear and fox-skins, and a few other commodities which were bartered for copper kettles, hatchets, knives, and useful hardware, increased the gross profits in good years by about 300,000 guilders.

## II.—CARRYING TRADE. MANUFACTURES.

SUCH was the industrial capacity of the Dutch, that no means of making a mercantile profit were neglected. For generations they made it better worth while for European nations to carry on their international commerce in Dutch ships, than to build ships of their own. Low charges, quick voyages, cleanliness, and business-like habits rendered it advantageous even for the English to engage them as agents; and France employed their vessels for the conveyance of both outward and homeward consignments. Thus the Dutch became the maritime carriers of Europe, and countries covered with timber, and possessing mines of iron and coal, were beholden for the transport of exports and imports to the industry of a race whose home provided them with neither forests nor mines.

Shipbuilding was an important branch of Dutch industry. Many more ships were built for the carrying than for the direct trade. Timber, masts, sailcloth, caulking, and marine stores were kept in such quantities, that the famous shipyards of Zaardam guaranteed to deliver any number of ships, at the rate of one a day, three months after the receipt of an order. Government vessels, merchantmen, ships for letting out on

hire and for freightage, as well as ships for foreign sale, employed many thousand builders.

England continued to make use of Dutch craft till the year 1650, France much longer. Spanish and Italian ports employed them so largely, that scarcely any flag but that of Holland was to be seen on the Mediterranean. The best ships in the world were of Dutch construction.

Besides this maritime trade there was the inland carriage of goods. Holland was even thus early a network of navigable rivers and canals, with unequalled facilities for inland communication. Carriers undertook the conveyance to and from the seaports. The deltas of the Rhine, Maas, and Scheldt being in the Low Countries, the Dutch commanded thereby the large area of German river traffic.

The culmination of the prosperity of Holland was reached in the middle of the seventeenth century. At the general recognition of the independence of the republic in 1648 its commerce was universal, comprising a monopoly of that of India, the almost exclusive trade with the Baltic and Mediterranean, and most of that of America. Its navy and mercantile marine, its fisheries and manufactures, were unsurpassed, and its riches, the outgrowth of this prosperity, exceeded the wealth of all the rest of Europe.

England and France at last sought to do for themselves that which hitherto the Dutch had done for them. Cromwell in England and Colbert in France, by closing their ports to foreign ships, strove to make compulsory the employment of home-built vessels; and, by imposing heavy customs upon foreign produce, forced the people to rely upon articles of home production. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, and again in the War of the Spanish Succession at the beginning of the eighteenth, the Dutch republic was engaged in war with England and France. Though thrifty and simple in their mode of living, the people found it difficult to procure bread. Wages rose, and the cost of production of all commodities increased.

The silk and woollen manufactures, the great distilleries, the oil and saw-mills, were all adversely affected. Cheapness compared with other countries, and indefatigable industry, had hitherto enabled the Dutch to command the markets of the world. England now competed with Holland in manufactures, and in the means of communication, and far excelled her in native resources, linen excepted, for the soil of Holland was well suited for the growth of flax. Dutch fabrics became dearer than those made abroad, and the trade in them decreased. Yet the foundations of Dutch trade were so firm that it withstood these calamities, and retained much of its importance. Such an accumulation of capital had been formed, that individuals, firms, and companies were still wealthy. Their foreign connections were too extensive to be easily lost, while their character for good faith and commercial skill gave them the precedence over less known adventurers. A large shipping business was retained by lowness of freight, a policy which the Dutch were slow to alter. They retained the chief share of the Baltic trade, especially that with Prussia. India was still a vast field of enterprise, despite the growing power of the English. That ancient mine of wealth the fisheries, after all the jealous pretensions of the English to an exclusive right in the North Sea, continued to flourish. With Spain and Portugal a considerable interchange took place; northern commodities and Dutch linen, cloth, and dairy produce being taken to the Peninsula. This trade was enlarged by an extensive agency business, whereby Spain and indirectly her colonies, were put into commercial communication with Scandinavia, Russia, and Germany. Of Spanish wool alone, five times as much was exported from Spain in Dutch ships as was taken by English and French merchants together. The monopoly of the spice trade was of great value to the Dutch. The taste for spices in Russia and Scandinavia created a demand which kept the Dutch in the front rank of the merchants trading

with those countries, and gave them a position which the English vainly contended against. The trade of the highest importance was that with Germany. Wine, timber, grain, linen, from the Rhine lands, were consumed in Holland, and much besides was exported. Westphalian linen was sent largely to Spain. In this traffic, the chief commodities given in exchange were spices.

Several circumstances likewise preserved the vitality of the Dutch textile manufactures; these were the home growth of flax, the skill of the weavers, and the excellence of the dyeing. Finer and better fabrics were woven in the manufacturing towns of the province of Holland than in England. For some time after the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, Leyden exported fine cloths to England. The whole province manufactured yearly between two thousand and three thousand pieces. Fugitive Huguenots gave a fresh impetus to weaving. The republic was able to hold its own in this art against England until the eighteenth century, when the superior natural resources of England began to tell. By an article in the treaty of 1648, Spain was compelled to keep the Scheldt closed to all navigation except that of Dutch ships. The Spanish or South Netherlands continued therefore, throughout the seventeenth century, in the lifeless condition to which they had been reduced by the policy of Philip II. The fate of Antwerp was sealed for an indefinite period. No trade was allowed to approach or spring up; and one of the finest of commercial sites was doomed to temporary ruin. The cultivation of flax was carefully pursued in the South Netherlands, and the linen made therefrom was nowhere excelled.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, agriculture began to revive from the impoverishment to which it had been reduced by Louis XIV. The Dutch republic greatly benefited by the revival of those industries, for through Holland all the foreign intercourse of the Low



Countries flowed. The fine linen was sent to Spain, and thence to America.

*Stock-Jobbing.*—Government loans and shares in various private undertakings where interest or dividend alone is guaranteed, while the receipt or warrant for the principal is merely held as a security, go by the name of stocks. Such securities are transferable, and so great is the business of them, that in most large towns a stock exchange exists where agents called stock-brokers and jobbers meet to conduct transfers on commission. It is evident that securities which inspire confidence would at all times be of a higher value than those of a questionable character. According to the rumours affecting their stability, and to the variations in the market rate of interest, stocks continually fluctuate in value. A speculative or gambling business was soon founded upon the course of these fluctuations. Two dealers would bargain not to deliver stock, but to pay or receive the difference in value at which the stock was quoted on the exchange at a stipulated date. Large sums of money were thus often gained or lost. Dutch stock was another name for the principal of the loans contracted by the States-General, and for the large amount of Dutch capital lent to foreign states. Charles I. borrowed £300,000 upon his accession to the English throne. Between 1650 and 1700, the Dutch had become the bankers of Europe. In the eighteenth century, Holland had claims to the amount of 3,000,000,000 guilders upon its debtors in various parts of the world. New mines were opened in Sweden, and old mines were better worked by the aid of Dutch loans. English, French, Dutch, and Danish planters likewise received advances for the improvement of their estates. While the commerce of Holland was at its greatest prosperity, trade absorbed the Dutch capital, and loans could only be obtained at a high rate of interest. When, however, commerce declined through the losses by war, the weight of taxation, and the rivalry of other nations, much capital lay

idle, for which the European wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found employment. These wars were carried on partly with the relics of Venetian and Genoese commercial gains, but far more with the gold of the Netherlands. Thus, ambitious governments escaped the odium of new taxes, and their subjects escaped from paying the cost by the cheap method of bequeathing their debts to their descendants. Wars might otherwise have been less frequent and less costly.

*Tulipomania* was a strange aberration of Dutch, and in a less degree of French and English stock-jobbing. As florists, the Dutch were always distinguished, but the culture of tulips was their favourite horticultural pursuit. The province of Holland carried on a great traffic in these flowers. The cities of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Utrecht, Alkmaar, Leyden, Rotterdam, Woerden, Hoorn, Enkhuysen, Medemblyk, became so infatuated that, by the year 1634, not only every leading merchant, but nearly every citizen, was engaged in the trade. Officers conducted the dealings in roots with the formality of signing, sealing, and delivering a deed of transfer. A variety called the "Viceroy" was sold for 2,500 guilders; another, "Semper Augustus," for 4,600 guilders, besides a new carriage and pair of greys. There were but two bulbs of the "Semper Augustus" known to exist, one at Haarlem, the other at Amsterdam. Contracts were made, and large sums of money paid for bulbs, never seen by either bargainer. They were bought and sold even without being in existence, only with reference to the rise and fall of their hypothetical value. An estate in one case had to be sold, to meet the deficiency of a speculator, who had bound himself to deliver a bulb by a certain day, the nominal value of which kept rising in consequence of the refusal of the owner to part with the sole specimen known. In two or three weeks another gained 60,000 guilders. Fortunes were rapidly made and lost. The trade now became an undisguised speculation, and

when the bubble at length burst, it was followed by a panic entailing ruin and despair. In one town alone, during these three years, there was invested in hypothetical tulips more than 10,000,000 guilders.

### III.—DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

DURING the whole of the eighteenth century, both extremes of which found the Dutch engaged in wars with France, the commerce of Holland declined. The acquisition of the Spanish crown by Philip V., a Bourbon prince, grandson of Louis XIV., in 1700, in accordance with the will of the previous king, Charles II., led to the War of the Spanish Succession, in which Holland, Austria, and many of the German states were arrayed against the forces of France and Spain. When peace was signed in 1713, the republic of Holland discovered that the French were able to keep the profitable trade which they had acquired during the years of war, and that the English had advanced in husbandry, handicraft, and commerce. Thus the relative position of these rival powers promised to be reversed.

In 1703, the king of Portugal joining the alliance against France and Spain, John Methuen, an Englishman, took advantage of the intercourse to negotiate a treaty between Portugal and England. By the Methuen treaty, the Portuguese trade was transferred, with a singular lack of consideration amongst companions-in-arms, from the hands of the Dutch to those of the English. A share also of this trade was successfully competed for, to the detriment of the Dutch, by the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck.

The English further challenged the Dutch in the trade with Russia, and by the superior extent of their demand for the raw produce of that empire, they in the end absorbed nearly all its commerce. For like reasons they outstripped the Dutch in the Swedish and Danish trade. The grain

trade with Dantzic and the adjacent Baltic ports was not much affected, and Amsterdam continued to be the granary whence the south-western states of Europe were furnished with corn.

The duties imposed in England upon foreign fabrics were so heavy, that Dutch linens could hardly get admission. English productions, on the contrary, were in such constant demand by the Germans, that the Dutch derived large profits as agents in their carriage and distribution.

In the Mediterranean, where the Dutch had been supreme, their trade could now scarcely be said to exist. In India, the French and English had followed in their footsteps and in turn monopolised the Indian trade. Oriental linen was thus obtained, which lessened the demand for that of Holland. Sugar, coffee, and spices from the West Indies exceeded in amount the Dutch imports from Java. Thus from 1771 to 1774 the Dutch imported seventy thousand casks of sugar, and fifty million pounds of coffee; the former valued at 4,000,000 guilders, and the latter at 21,000,000 guilders. The inquiry naturally arises, Why did not the Dutch adopt the principle of heavy port and custom dues, in retaliation upon France and England? The reply is evident. They had but few natural resources; they were dependent upon the imports of raw produce for the materials employed in their manufactures; and to lay imposts upon those materials could only limit industry by increasing the cost of production. Much as the republic suffered by the acts of its neighbours, to copy the same course could only have led to further injury. Already manufactures had suffered from the evil effects of an enhanced prime cost, brought about by the competition for foreign produce, by heavy taxation which was the result of war, and by the consequent rise of wages, which were higher in Holland than elsewhere. It was remarkable that under such adverse circumstances the republic could justly be called rich. Trade and manufactures had diminished at home, colonial produce at the best was not

progressive, and agriculture had now improved in England so much, that British dependence on Dutch husbandry was greatly reduced. The reason why the wealth of Holland did not more perceptibly diminish, was owing to the vast accumulation of capital in the country ; so that when manufactures and commerce offered less profitable investments, loans to an enormous extent were made to other states of Europe. The American and the French revolutions both proved destructive to Dutch commerce. For seven years, from 1776, the Dutch profited greatly as a neutral power ; but the English deprived Holland of her West Indian possessions, and even captured the rich cargoes coming from the East Indies. The Danish West Indian colonies carried on the smuggling trade before pursued by the Dutch. The Swedes and Danes assumed the place of the Dutch as maritime carriers ; and, together with the Portuguese, deprived them likewise of a large portion of their Indian commerce. Denmark, as a neutral power, conducted the important traffic of France. Colonial produce was supplied to the Baltic ports by the agency of the free cities of Hamburg and Bremen. Ostend increased in importance, and became the port of Flemish commerce.

When peace in 1784 brought the Dutch immunity from hostile attack, a part of their former trade returned, but the circumstances had changed. No longer so far in advance that other states felt it vain to contend with them, they had now to struggle with numerous competitors.

The subjoined record of vessels passing the Sound in the year of peace (1784) shows the reversal of the position of Holland with regard to the Baltic trade.

Dutch vessels	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,366
English „	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,172
Swedish „	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,170
Prussian „	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,421
Danish „	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,691

The United States of America, with their independence, appeared as a new rival to Holland, offering in exchange

for the commodities of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, exhaustless quantities of fish and flour. Before the century closed, Holland was again subject to foreign rule. The French Revolution was a fatal blow to the hopes of a revival of trade. Dutch manufactures were inferior in quantity and quality to those of England, and the people seemed indifferent to their improvement. Fifty years of internal dissensions had been equally prejudicial to husbandry. The famous cattle and dairy produce showed no improvement with the times, while agriculture in the countries around was making rapid progress.

*South Netherlands.*—By an article in the treaties of Utrecht in 1713, the disputed possession of the throne of Spain between the Bourbon and Austrian princes was decided in favour of the former, a compensation being offered to Austria in the renunciation by Spain of all her European dependencies. Under this arrangement the South Netherlands were ceded to Holland for transfer to Austria. This change of masters was beneficial to the Flemings, whose trade began to revive from 1714, when the change of rulers took place. The cultivation of the soil, encouraged by the government, was pursued with new vigour. This course soon produced greater crops of grain and flax, and led to increased manufactures.

The parties to the treaty of Utrecht did not, however, remove the political disability of the Scheldt as a Flemish port. Holland would not have agreed to a treaty containing an article the effects of which would have been to ruin Amsterdam in order that prosperity might return to Antwerp. Charles VI. consequently encouraged the trade of Ostend, and entertained the project of founding a Flemish East India Company, which, owing to the hostile attitude of England and Holland, came to nothing.

The advantages possessed for commerce by the South, or, as they were now called, the Austrian Netherlands, were improved by peace. Flemish flax, linen, yarn, and coal

were sent in great quantities to France, which in return gave the luxuries of art, wine, and silk. Brabant lace found a market in Germany, the cloth manufactures of Verviers superseded those of Leyden, and Liége resumed its manufacture of iron. During the war that raged from 1781 to 1784 the Austrian Netherlands pursued a busy and profitable trade, much of which was retained when the war ceased. Cotton was manufactured in quantities large enough for export, and the arts of linen-weaving, bleaching, lace, paper and leather-making, diamond-cutting and polishing, sugar-refining, and brewing flourished. Flax and linen were important Flemish exports. Agriculture had reached a high degree of excellence, and great crops of hops, madder, rapeseed, and linseed were grown. Woollen cloths, unsurpassed by the productions of any looms in Europe, were manufactured from the fleece of Flemish sheep, and the cows produced the famous Limburg cheese. With France was maintained an important trade in iron-ware, for which Namur and Liége had been renowned for centuries.

The French occupation at the close of the eighteenth century was not so injurious to the South Netherlands as it was to Holland, although heavy levies were made upon the Flemings; for in 1792 the Scheldt was again opened to commerce, after having been closed since the peace of Westphalia, 1648.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FRANCE.

**FRENCH** industry and trade, in a national sense, belong entirely to modern history, being but little developed until after the discovery of America. Spain drew much of its supply of grain from France, and so urgent was the want of food, that more Spanish gold went in payment for French corn than for any commodities whatever from any other European state. Louis XII. and Francis I. pursued a similar course to that of their predecessor Charles VIII., and although the commercial cities of France did not attain to the splendours of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Pisa, nor her merchants vie with the Italian commercial princes, yet the prosperity of the kingdom was promoted. By these monarchs, old laws favouring industry were revived, trades were placed under new regulations, mines were opened and more actively worked, fairs were established, and money began to accumulate in the hands of the merchants. Louis XII. was the first king of France who really protected agriculture. Under his reign laws were promulgated controlling the labour, beasts, and implements of husbandmen, which could no longer be seized for debt. Maize was introduced, and has since been cultivated very extensively in the south of France. This monarch also especially encouraged the art of printing, which he said was of divine rather than human origin, and regarded it as the most powerful instrument for the maintenance of law and order. This favour to printing was continued by his successors, who specially exempted it from imposts, when scarcely another mechanical art was free. The



introduction of the silk industry had a great influence upon the commercial and industrial position of France. During the sixteenth century, silk stuffs and raw silks were obtained from Italy, and paid for with gold received from Spain. In the year 1521, weavers from Italy settled at Lyons, but no extensive attempt was made to cultivate the mulberry and rear the silkworm. Mulberries were planted near Tours, and silk was first fabricated in that city. Henry II. wore silk stockings, and thirty years after his reign, fifty thousand persons are said to have worn them ; yet it was not before the year 1650 that the mulberry culture spread southward, and the superiority of the French in the manufacture of silks, velvets, and satins, became manifest. Twelve departments of the south have made silk their staple produce, upon which, and its auxiliary industries weaving and dyeing, the inhabitants of these parts mainly depend for subsistence. Lyons, the centre of the silk district, and its chief market still, has almost half its population engaged in the trade. Paris, Nismes, Avignon, next to Tours and Lyons, were the towns that became similarly distinguished.

Between 1547 and 1558 the plumbers, watchmakers, and gilders of steel were incorporated, and various ancient guilds, such as the scabbard-makers and leather-workers, renewed their charters. As the towns increased and the adjacent forests were felled, the trade in fire-wood assumed important dimensions. Cannon founding was a new art, and in no long time became superior to that of Italy. The arts appertaining to the preparation and consumption of food received special attention, which led to the eminence ever since held by the French as cooks. Prodigious quantities of salt herrings were imported from the Low Countries, and the markets of Paris were stocked with game from the interior. Unhappily this prosperous condition was not destined to last. The policy of the French monarchs changed, and commercial prosperity did not endure as long as the century which had given it birth.

Nature has lavished upon France exhaustless gifts, or the kingdom could not have survived the evils it experienced throughout, and even anterior to, the seventeenth century. Destructive wars were almost continuous, agriculture was kept at its lowest point by the oppression of the nobles; manufactures were destroyed by excise imposts; revenue farmers drained the life-blood of labour. Customs duties shackled commerce; every device which ignorance and oppression could frame did its worst to consume the resources of the country. The condition of the French poor was miserable in the extreme, although the country produced in abundance corn, wine, cattle, fish, and everything necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants. Fuel ought never to have failed, yet wood was dearer than at Venice, because the king was the proprietor of most of the forests, and monopolised the trade in timber.

The few bright spots in French industrial history, when wiser counsels directed legislation, are connected with the names of Sully and Colbert, the gifted ministers respectively of Henry IV. and Louis XIV., from whose genius respectively the productive industry of France received its most beneficial impress.

I. *Agriculture.*—The condition of French agriculture at the accession of Henry IV. was very backward. Farm implements were of the rudest kind, and corn was generally trodden out by the feet of horses and mules. The homes of the labourers were dirty and comfortless. Prejudices continued to arrest production. Communication by roads and canals was so imperfect that famine sometimes raged in one part of the country while plenty prevailed in another. The price of corn varied very much in different provinces, yet no neighbourhood attempted to increase production beyond its own immediate requirements. To improve this state of matters was the aim of Henry IV. and Sully. Frenchmen revere the name of this king, whose aspiration that every peasant should have a fowl in his pot on Sun-

days, was nobler than the subsequent ambition of Louis XIV. and Napoleon; and they owe a debt of gratitude to the wise minister who so ably seconded the sovereign's efforts.

*Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully*, descended, it is said, from a Scotch family whose original name was Beaton, was born at Passy, December 13th, 1560. He became at the early age of thirty-six years Superintendent of Finances, Grand Master of the Artillery, and Grand Trustee of Roads. By virtue of these offices he repaired the old highways and opened many new ones; he also raised the artillery to a condition of excellence which for two centuries rendered it unsurpassed. When he began his administration, the kingdom was 300,000,000 livres in debt. The king is graphically said to have had neither horse, nor harness, nor even a whole shirt. Sully first introduced economy into the finances, which he found yielding only 30,000,000 livres out of 150,000,000 wrung from the people, and checked the exactions of the farmers of the revenue. He protected husbandry, and promoted the exportation of grain. By reforming the laws, and checking monopolies, he enabled the kingdom to pay its way without grinding the poor. In Sully's memoirs ("Economies Royales"), he defines the objects he had before him, and the principles which directed his policy. "Husbandry and cattle rearing," he says, "are the two breasts whence France is nourished, her true mines and treasures of Peru." He therefore remitted 20,000,000 livres in arrears from the cultivators, exempted farms and agricultural implements from taxation, distributed the imposts more equitably, and reclaimed a large extent of waste land. His conviction was, that princes ought to seek the prosperity of their subjects, as the only true means of increasing their own wealth and dignity. Sully enumerates the causes of the decline of a kingdom thus: "Monopolies, especially of corn, neglect of commerce and agriculture, trade and art; the cost of useless dependents, and the too great power they wield; retarding and with-

holding justice ; corruption of morals ; idleness and luxury ; debasement of the currency ; unjust and foolish wars ; kingly despotism, and blind attachment to favourites ; nepotism, official greed ; neglect of science and literature ; complex and useless regulations." His encouragement of merchants, mechanics, farmers, and shepherds, was not unreasonable, since, as he replied to the Duchess of Verneuil, "It is they who nourish the king and us all." Henry's appreciation of Sully is conveyed in his remark to Gabrielle d'Estrelle,—“I would rather dispense with ten mistresses than one servant like him.” Sully not only freed the kingdom from debt, but at the king's death there was a surplus of 112,000,000 livres lying in the Bastille. In some respects, Henry was more advanced than even his enlightened minister, by whom he was well seconded in regard to the encouragement of agriculture, but often opposed in relation to manufactures and commerce. Sully had a prejudice against manufacturing industry, in the belief that the indoor life of the operative led to physical degeneracy. The king saw that every form of productive labour enriched his country, and strove to create industries for the people of the towns, and to revive commerce. He reanimated the textile manufactures, and formed plantations of white mulberry, and introduced silkworm-rearing into France. By his orders the site of the Tournelles, in the Tuileries, was planted with this tree. His success was such that Sully himself, in order to please the king, planted many thousands of trees in Poitou, and the cultivation of the mulberry was extended northward to Orleans. Paris owes to Henry IV. many of its principal monuments, erected as much to encourage industry and the fine arts as for civic embellishment. By subventions, privileges, and other encouragements, Henry did for industry and commerce what his minister aimed at for husbandry. Henry's measures, nevertheless, could not undo the mischief worked by ages of ignorance ; and his murder by the fanatic Ravaillac caused affairs to revert in a

great measure to their old condition. For his age Henry was a wise and beneficent ruler. The economic errors which he committed were then believed to be true principles, and had been inherited from the Middle Ages. Prohibition of trade between kingdom and kingdom, under the guise of encouragement to native labour, was but the reproduction of ancient jealousies between town and town.

II. *Manufactures*.—The manufacture of silk soon took the lead amongst French industries, and with the subsequent improvement in weaving, the woollen and linen manufactures also prospered, as well as those of carpets and lace. Henry IV. enjoined the use of silk, and rendered it unlawful to import textures of gold and silver: which impolitic enactment he afterwards had the wisdom to repeal.

*Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, the great finance minister of Louis XIV., is regarded as the father of the manufacturing and mercantile industry of France, as Sully was of its agriculture. Colbert, like Sully, traced his origin to one of the many Scottish families who sought their fortunes in France at the time of the League between that country and Scotland. An inscription upon the tomb of his ancestor at Rheims is preserved by Moreri:—

“ En Escosse j’eus le berceau,  
Et Rheims m’a donné le tombeau.”

At Rheims, where his father was a merchant, the great financier was born in 1619. He possessed an accurate knowledge of the social condition of France, gained by travel and observation in every province. His appointment to the civil service was made by Le Tellier, in 1648, and he so recommended himself by his financial skill to Mazarin, that this great minister on his death-bed pointed him out to Louis XIV. as his fit successor. Colbert became minister of finance in 1661, and although his efforts were checked by many wars, he raised the yearly revenues to 116,000,000 livres, an amount never before approached; and this not by

heavier exactions, but by thrift in their collection and management, and by increasing the resources of the kingdom. Fouquet, a predecessor of Colbert, was able to pay into the treasury only 23,000,000 livres, out of 84,000,000 gross revenue ; over 60,000,000 being dissipated in course of collection. Colbert, in the first year of his administration, obtained 53,000,000 out of 88,000,000 levied upon the nation ; the year following, 58,000,000 out of 87,000,000, and eventually he secured 75,500,000 out of a revenue of 97,000,000 livres. He introduced the system of annual budgets, and brought regularity into the finances. He reduced a debt of 1,000,000,000 livres to one of 8,000,000. For twelve years he maintained a balance between the receipts and expenditure ; sometimes, however, with a high hand and breaches of faith, for which the chaos and corruption he found could alone afford the semblance of an excuse. Nothing was too great or too small to come under his cognisance ; every part of the administration was the subject of his solicitude. He brought order into the province of justice, and drew up codes of law, civil and military, commercial and maritime, and while he did not accord political liberty to the provinces, but rendered the despotism of his master even more stringent, he emulated Sully in his regard for the peasantry, shielded them from the exactions of the landholders, interdicted the seizure of their cattle, and exempted the poor from taxes according to the number of their families.

Colbert was guided by the principle that a country grows rich in proportion as the exports of its industry exceed its imports in value. He saw that France drew from foreign sources much more than she exported ; that while the manufactures of Lyons and of Tours languished, the linens, leathers, soaps, drugs, and dyes of England, Holland, and Spain filled the country, while Italy supplied the silks and gold lace, and Venice was enriched by her trade in lace and glass. His whole policy went therefore

to increase production at home, in order first to render France independent of foreign supplies, and secondly, to attract the precious metals to the country. He prohibited the import of foreign manufactures, and the export of French raw material, including corn. On the other hand, he encouraged the import of raw materials, and the export of French manufactures. The exportation of gold and silver coin was strictly forbidden. He induced foreign artificers to settle in France. Workshops were filled with Venetian glass-workers and Flemish operatives; five hundred Flemish weavers settled in Picardy alone. Manufactures and trade visibly increased under his able management. For the encouragement of industry he instituted prizes, and made advances of money to skilful manufacturers. Those engaged in the woollen trade received in this way more than a million livres, and the fabrication of steel and of tin plate was similarly encouraged.

He re-established the carpet manufactures, which had been created by Henry IV. and since abandoned, especially the celebrated manufacture of the Gobelins. Manufactures both of silk and woollen goods depended for their raw material much more upon foreign than upon home produce: to open up foreign sources of supply, therefore, became Colbert's great object. Husbandry was comparatively neglected, and declined relatively to the favoured industries. He protected many branches of labour from foreign competition, with the view of adding to their productiveness. His sagacious mind failed to perceive that by giving facilities for free interchange, he would have encouraged general industry, instead of promoting special branches. Yet in 1669 he writes, "We must leave men alone who apply themselves without reluctance to the work that suits them best; it is the course that brings the greatest advantage." In 1670, only one year later, there appeared his celebrated decree inconsistently promulgating penalties for any breach of the minute and irksome regulations with which he had bound many native handicrafts;

confiscation of the goods being imposed for a first offence, a public condemnation added for the second, and two hours in the pillory for the third. Colbert was as absolute and intolerant in the execution of his decrees as in the institution of new manufactures; administering his functions, as Forbonnais with French keenness observed, by the one law of the Emperor of Japan.

Prescriptive rights and interests were thus established, which in the end grew too powerful to be dealt with, even when it was known that they were sapping the foundations of the national prosperity. Colbert's policy was quickly reciprocated by England. He would not buy cheaply from England, therefore England would not buy cheaply from France. Heavy duties were imposed on commodities by both nations, making them too dear for exchange, and thus a great inducement to production was lost. In like manner the Dutch placed prohibitive duties upon French brandies and wines in retaliation for Colbert's tariffs upon Dutch goods, and thus three countries suffered without advantage to any one of them. That the good of one is the good of all was a principle not then understood, and consequently not acted upon. The auspicious dawn of prosperity evoked by Colbert never reached its meridian. Nevertheless, much lasting good resulted from his policy. Several of the manufactures he introduced became staple industries, while those connected with silk and lace banished the lifelessness of the peasantry, gave permanent occupation and wages to their wives and daughters, and spread a portion of the prosperity of the towns over the country districts. Even the royal monopoly of various manufactures was, for the age, an emancipation rather than a restriction of labour, for he cast off the close and narrow fetters with which the selfish instinct of guilds had bound every handicraft, and created great establishments instead. Where also he sustained manufactures for which the country was naturally unfitted, it was in many instances but a temporary loss, for



nature reasserted her rights at every opportunity, the manufactures failed, and his foreign tariffs became abandoned, or were lightened as an economical necessity.

The ambition of Louis was selfish and personal. Unlike the patriotic Henry IV., he took the revenues raised by his minister, admiring the means of collection, not because they were just, but because they were successful, and enabled him to gratify lavish tastes. With Colbert's death, after an administration of twenty years, prospects darkened. The far-seeing wisdom, prompt to rectify errors of judgment by the light of experience, disappeared, and only the evils of his system remained. Monopolies were multiplied in order to meet the needs of the nobles, who disdained labour, but eagerly seized and consumed the hard-earned profits of the poor labourers. Jealous trade corporations interdicted every improvement, punished inventors with severe penalties for "the infraction of vested rights," and closed every department of industry to outsiders, however skilful. The king's heartlessness was proved by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, an act to which the sanction of Colbert would never have been given, for it not only involved the banishment of good subjects, but the loss of an invaluable portion of the national capital. Louis forbade the Huguenots to emigrate, yet half a million of refugees carried their industry and skill into other lands, while twice as many forced perverts awaited at home an opportunity to rebel. The fanaticism of Louis XIV., as stupid as it was cruel, so weakened the silk trade that several generations were required to effect its restoration. From Languedoc fifty-five thousand silk weavers departed to introduce their beautiful craft into Spitalfields and Berlin. Louis XIV. arrayed Europe against himself, and found his bitterest foes amongst his former subjects, whom his bigotry had forced into foreign armies and navies. He lived to see his conquests lost, his colonies in the possession of his enemies, and a smouldering hatred arise among his subjects. The wanton luxury that distinguished the court of his

successor Louis XV., who imitated all the faults of his predecessor, produced a spasmodic revival of silk-weaving. Neither oppression nor war could wholly destroy the improved husbandry, and the textile industry of French Flanders, where, in contrast with the rest of France, there was progress in agriculture ; and the lawns and cambrics of Cambray, Valenciennes, Lille, and St. Quentin were everywhere sought after and esteemed.

III. *Commerce*.—Until the days of Colbert, France possessed no fleet ; inland trade was confined to small districts, and consisted almost entirely of home productions. Colbert saw the mutual dependence of manufactures and commerce. His commercial schemes comprised facilities for inland traffic, and an active intercourse with the colonies, India, America, Africa, and the Levant. To carry out his purposes, he incorporated four great commercial companies, to the East and West Indies, the Northern ports, and the Levant respectively ; founded the French marine, and encouraged the art of navigation by every means in his power. At the same time, he facilitated internal communication by new roads and waterways, and succeeded in obtaining for his country a profitable through traffic. The king gave liberally to the commercial companies, and, declaring that it was not derogatory to nobility to promote commerce, compelled them also, by forced loans, to take an active interest. Our wonder is, that in such troublous times and with a master so lavish, Colbert succeeded in any of his plans. His chief failures were those of his commercial companies. The West India Company, to which he granted a monopoly of trade, forfeited its charter, and he transferred its privileges to a few ports. The East India Company and the Company of the North also both lost their credit—nor were the minor companies which afterwards sprang up much more successful. It was not easy for a people possessing no docks and generally dreading the sea to build ships ; but to make sailors and merchants of such a people was a much

more arduous task. It took his lifetime to establish foreign commerce. What he accomplished may be seen by comparing the condition of things which existed when he became minister and when he died. Before his time, trade with the West Indies was insignificant; that with Acadia or Nova Scotia was confined to a little peltry. No success attended the Newfoundland fisheries, and from the absence of maritime ardour and the want of vessels, Louis XIII. had previously failed in his wish to charter a company with exclusive rights to these fishing grounds. The Dutch, triumphant in the Mediterranean, conducted even the commerce of Marseilles. They took from France satins, ribbons, linen, lace, buttons, and gloves, and England occasionally wine and grain, so that the whole traffic was carried on in English and Dutch vessels.

Under Colbert, the West Indian Company held possession of Canada, Acadia, Cayenne, the Antilles, and the whole of the African coast from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope, and sugar from the West Indies began to displace that from Brazil. It was brought, however, by Dutch vessels as well as by French, a state of things not accordant with his views and designs. The East India Company was even more important. No encouragement, however, could enable his countrymen to compete with the English and Dutch in the Baltic and the Levant. Interchange with England, nevertheless, during his life became very valuable, as the following list of French manufactures sent to England clearly shows:—

Commodities.						Value.
Linen	.	.	.	.	.	£700,000
Silk stuffs	.	.	.	.	.	600,000
Paper	.	.	.	.	.	90,000
Hardware	.	.	.	.	.	40,000
Miscellaneous: glass, hats, &c.	.	.	.	.	.	220,000
Total						£1,650,000

A considerable trade was conducted with all the states of

Europe, the Levant, Senegal, and the Guinea Coasts, Barbary, and the Indies. The armed fleet maintained its own even against the combined fleets of England and Holland. Colbert dreamt that by starting companies of royal dimensions and magnificence, a grand commerce could be achieved, whereas it requires the growth of generations of patient effort and assiduity, strict economy, love of gain, and judicious daring. Without any of these essential qualities, his schemes were pretentious and unsuccessful, and much money was wasted upon them.

## CHAPTER VII.

FRANCE (*continued*).

### COLONIAL HISTORY.

FRANCE has not been successful in colonising.\* Numerous settlements have been made and lost, but no fixed principles have guided French statesmen in establishing colonies on a large scale. The causes of this want of success are various, and go back far into the national history. Successive kings viewed France as a patrimony whence they might extort the greatest possible revenues, but to which they owed no duty in return. In their own eyes they ruled by right divine. Aggressive wars were almost always proceeding, the ruinous exactions to support which left but little capital to seek outlets for employment abroad; and the settlements when formed suffered from neglect and misrule. Colonies are founded on a large scale only by commercial nations; and of these, at this time, France was one of the least important. France, however, could not altogether resist the contagion of adventure which was spread abroad by the Spanish discoveries. Aubert, a French commander, in 1506 and 1508 discovered Cape Breton and Newfoundland, with the estuary of the St. Lawrence, a river which he named from having entered it on St. Lawrence's day. Francis I., participating in the zeal for discovery, despatched Giovanni Verezano, a Florentine, in 1524, upon an expedition to the New World in search of gold. Verezano surveyed seven hundred miles of the coast-line now forming the marine borders of Carolina and Virginia, and part of British America, without, however,

\* *Origin and meaning of Colonies.* Appendix N.

discovering any gold. Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, in the course of two voyages, sailed round Newfoundland and up the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, the site of what is now Montreal. Cartier gave the name of New France to these territories. For a century attempts were made by the French to plant themselves in America, but without success. Coligny founded a Huguenot colony in Florida, upon territory granted by Charles IX., which was extended and completed by Ribaut in 1564. Philip II. of Spain directed an attack to be made upon these unhappy settlers, who thereupon were surprised and massacred.

Newfoundland was the site of the next colony, and was peopled in 1598 by settlers from Normandy, Brittany, and Biscay; but it was soon abandoned, because of the jealousies and quarrels of the settlers. Henry IV. at the same time made La Roche governor of Canada, Newfoundland, and Labrador, and colonised Sable Island, a settlement to which the like fatality attached; for it lasted only seven years, when the twelve sole survivors of the colonists returned to their native land. It was not indeed till the year 1604 that colonisation presented any prospects of permanence. Had the mother-country supported her colonies through the preceding hundred years, their history would have been very different; but the colonists consisted chiefly of members of the reformed faith, to use whom despitefully was thought to be doing God a service. The French kings were also too intent upon their court profligacy to trouble themselves about their distant dependencies. Settlements were made near the river St. Croix, and at Port Royal, in 1604. Henry IV. had made a grant of all the lands lying between 40° and 46° north latitude to Peter de Monti, a nobleman of Saintonge, belonging to the reformed faith. The charter of presentation reserved some rights of titles and mines. In it also appeared the name of L'Acadie, probably an Indian chief, from whom Nova Scotia got its first designation. A new principle of self-dependence was acted

upon by the colonists, who applied themselves to the production of their own food and other necessities, in lieu of relying upon France. In 1608, under Champlain, they founded the city of Quebec, which (next to the English settlement on the James River in Virginia, established two years previously \*) is the oldest European settlement in North America; for Port Royal shared the fate of its predecessors in 1614, and was broken up by an attack of the English from Virginia, led by Sir Samuel Argal. De Monti sold his rights to other French noblemen, who, uniting religious duty with commercial enterprise, sent missionaries amongst the Indians, and sought to carry on a traffic in furs and skins, while imparting to them a knowledge of Christianity. Acadia was granted in 1621 by James I., who claimed it by the right of early English discovery, to a Scotch baronet named Sir Walter Alexander, or Mestry, when its name was changed to Nova Scotia. Quebec surrendered to the English under David Kirk, who acted in alliance with Alexander, but was resigned at the peace, in April, 1629. The French kept their hold of Nova Scotia till 1654, when they were reduced by a strong force sent by Cromwell. At the peace of Breda, 1667, it was once more ceded to France. After alternating fortunes, it became a permanent British settlement. In 1711, and in 1758, the pertinacious attempts of the French to regain the peninsula led to the expulsion of every colonist of French descent. Canada, after the peace of 1629, was governed by De la Tour, whose son was governor of the colony of Acadia. Canada was made a royal colony in 1663, and continued to be for exactly one hundred years. The Seven Years' War, from 1756 to 1763, cost France Quebec, taken after the defeat of Montcalm, the governor, on the heights of Abraham, by General Wolfe, in 1759; and afterwards Montreal. Finally,

\* James Town, the site of the original settlement on the James River, was indeed destroyed during subsequent internal troubles of the colony, in 1676, but the settlement itself was never abandoned.

the whole province was ceded by the treaty of Paris in 1763. French colonial history is in reality a history of conflict with British power. Their remaining possessions in North America were Hudson's Bay, Labrador, Newfoundland, and Cape Breton. In Hudson's Bay an active fur trade was carried on by the French Canadians and the Indians living to the west. The English had preceded them in this trade, and shared it with an ill-will that often led to quarrels, until, between 1682 and 1685, they drove away all but English vessels, and monopolized the valuable traffic in the skins of the beaver, otter, and many other fur animals. The French in Hudson's Bay were unable to withstand the rivalry of the English, to whom they yielded all their possessions.

*Labrador.*—This sterile coast furnished the French through the native Esquimaux with skins, especially those of the seal, and fish oils, worth on an average 50,000 livres annually. This important trade survived competition until 1763, when, with the downfall of Canada, it fell to the English.

*Terre Neuve (Newfoundland).*—French fishermen were amongst the earliest seen on these famous banks after their discovery by John Cabot, who was himself the first European fisherman in Newfoundland. When the French fisheries were in their most flourishing state, there were as many as two hundred and fifty vessels engaged yearly. Endless quarrels with the English occurred. In 1708 the French attacked the English settlements, and gained possession of nearly the whole island; but by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, Newfoundland was declared wholly British, and the French were allowed only a limited right of fishing.

*Cape Breton.*—The first French settlement in this island was made in 1712. The isle then received the name of Isle Royale. The wisdom of the choice of settlement was proved the following year, when the losses to the French fisheries, through the cession of Newfoundland, were retrieved along



the teeming coast and in harbours of Cape Breton. Alterations of conquest and cession occurred till the end of the century. Louisbourg, the capital, was taken by the British in 1745 and 1758, and again after the fall of Canada in 1763. This last occupation continued till 1783, when Cape Breton was once more restored to the French. In the wars which followed the French Revolution, the fleet and commerce of France having been annihilated, and its colonies for the most part seized, by England, Cape Breton became a permanent part of the British Empire. Many of its inhabitants still trace their descent from the Acadians or original settlers driven out of Nova Scotia. The struggles to maintain the colony is explained by its economic importance. There were about twenty-seven thousand men engaged in the fisheries during the busiest times. The weight of fish taken annually amounted to 1,149,000 cwts., worth nearly £150,000, besides 12,465 casks of train-oil. The average total value of the fisheries exceeded three quarters of a million sterling. There were from four hundred and fifty to five hundred ships employed, manned chiefly by sailors from the maritime provinces of Normandy and Brittany. Four-fifths of the vessels at least sailed from the two ports of Brest and Dieppe.

Louisiana, which had been visited by the Spaniards under De Soto in 1542, was first settled by the French during the reign of Louis XIV. (from whom it received its name) at the close of the seventeenth century. New Orleans was founded in 1718. The French settlements in this region, of no use to the French, were made by Law the basis of his notorious "Mississippi scheme."

*South America and the West Indies.*—In 1663 the French formed a settlement called Cayenne, in Guiana; and, after many contests with the English and Dutch, remained in possession of the colony, which, however, has never been of much importance: only ninety families inhabited it in 1750, who, with the aid of one hundred and twenty-five Indians and one thousand five hundred negro slaves, cul-

tivated thirty plantations. Sugar, coffee, cacao, cotton, and arnatto were produced. On the Gabriel plantation an attempt was made to raise pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, all of which succeeded fairly except the nutmeg, and even that met with partial success. The buccaneers preying upon Spanish commerce were masters of the smaller West India Islands for a considerable period, and sold them as private property. England and France eventually became their chief possessors. France claimed Guadaloupe, Martinique, and part of Hispaniola (St. Domingo, or Hayti). The importance of these possessions was perceived more and more as the consumption of their produce increased at home.

*San Domingo, or Hayti.*—This island, or rather the smaller half ceded by treaty to France in 1677, proved to be so eminently favourable to the growth of the coffee plant, that the produce for a long while exceeded the whole quantity from the rest of the West Indian Islands. In 1774 its exports amounted to 353 cargoes, of the value of 82,000,000 livres. Of sugar, there were exported 147,508,000 lbs., in addition to large quantities of indigo, cacao, roucou, cotton, leather, timber, silver and other metals. Its population in 1779 consisted of 32,050 whites, 7,055 mestizos, and 250,000 negro slaves; at the same date the island cultivated 590 plantations. The French regarded Hispaniola as the most valuable of their colonial possessions, and therefore paid great attention to its development. The agricultural produce in 1790 had reached the yearly value of £8,000,000.

*Martinique*, the most northward of the Windward Islands, was colonised by the French in 1635. It was several times taken by the English, but finally restored to France, in whose possession it still remains. There were upon the island in 1778 as many as 257 plantations, cultivated by 12,000 whites, 3,000 free blacks and mulattoes, and 80,000 negro slaves. The number of coffee trees amounted to 16,605,869; of cacao bushes, 1,430,020; and of cotton plants, 1,648,550.

Molasses, rum, and cloves were likewise amongst the products of the island.

*Guadeloupe*, colonised in the same year as Martinique, had a similar history, and resembled that island in its produce and commerce. Its population in 1777 was as follows: whites, 12,700; free negroes and mulattoes, 1,350; slaves, 100,000. The value of its exports in the same year, without including miscellaneous produce, is thus summarized:—

Commodities.					Value.
Sugar .	.	.	.	.	7,137,900 livres.
Coffee .	.	.	.	.	2,993,860 „
Indigo .	.	.	.	.	1,222,529 „
Cacao .	.	.	.	.	71,651 „
Cotton .	.	.	.	.	1,298,437 „
Hides .	.	.	.	.	6,973 „

Molasses, rum, copper, and dye-stuffs were also exported. Manufactured articles from France were principally given in exchange for these colonial commodities.

*French Settlements in Africa: the West Coast.*—The French acquired possessions on the river Senegal about the years 1674—75. Earlier a few independent traders from Normandy possessed stations at the mouth of the river, which were purchased by the West Indian Company projected by Colbert. Settlements were formed, and merchants traded along the banks, where they established depots, whither the natives brought their produce, consisting mainly of slaves and gold, which they offered in exchange for fire-arms, powder, Indian goods, iron, cutlery, tobacco, rum, coral, amber, and trinkets. A fortress was formed on an island near the coast, as a place for the safe deposit of merchandise.

The West Indian Company, with larger objects in view, resigned the control of this petty settlement, which thereupon fell to the government. These stations were never colonies in the proper sense of the term, inasmuch as no territory was possessed beyond the bare site of the factories,

the deadly swamps of the region rendering it unfit for the permanent residence of Europeans. Nevertheless, the value of the merchandise tempted adventurers to defy the climate, and not only the French, but the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English established trading settlements. Twice between 1674 and 1724 the French expelled the Dutch from Senegal, from which time they held undisputed possession of the coast till the year 1758. From this date to 1783, the station was more than once taken by the English, but was restored to France at the peace concluded in that year. In 1787—89, a fleet of a hundred and eight vessels was engaged in the Senegal trade, of the gross burden of 38,596 tons, and carried cargoes of the value of 18,256,000 livres.

*Gambia.*—Settlements were attempted on the river Gambia, but with very partial success, owing to the interference of the English, who in 1697, and again in 1713, compelled the traders to abandon their factories. The possession of the fortified island of Goree, near Cape Verde, and of the factory of Albreda, on the Gambia, with the nominal sovereignty over some extent of coast, are all that resulted from the efforts made by France in this quarter.

*Madagascar.*—Colbert's East India Company planted four promising settlements in Madagascar. The first attempt was made in 1665. Owing to the unhealthy climate of the coast, and the warlike character of the natives, but much more to the profusion, fraud, and provocation of the officials, none of these settlements prospered. The natives rose upon the French in 1672, and massacred them without distinction.

A century afterwards, an equally unsuccessful attempt to colonise the island was made by an adventurer named Beniowski.

*Bourbon,* still, under the name of Réunion, one of the principal colonial possessions of France, was settled in 1642, but attained commercial importance only in the succeeding century. Coffee from Arabia was introduced into

the island with great success. Bourbon lacked a good harbour, one essential condition of a commercial colony. When, therefore, the Dutch in 1712 left their settlements in the Mauritius, the colonists of Bourbon landed, and annexed the island, giving it the name of the Isle of France.

*Mauritius.*—La Bourdonnais' enterprising genius saw the capabilities of this island as a place of call, and as a depot for the French East Indiamen. A capacious bay existed on the north side, with safe anchorage and shelter for ships of the largest size. The island had a clear sky and a delightful climate, abundance of wood, provisions, and pure water. The harbour of the Mauritius, therefore, became a first-class naval station for the French, especially in connection with their East Indian possessions.

The chief produce of the island was sugar, which formed nine-tenths in value of its exports. Indigo, cloves, and choice woods, though no large timber, were also produced.

*Asia: French East India Company.*—Many expeditions to India had been made earlier than the time of Colbert's East India Company, chartered in the year 1665. The first French ships, of which there is any record, that succeeded in reaching India, were two despatched from one of the ports of Brittany in 1601. These ships were, however, wrecked on the Maldivé Islands, and their commander did not return to France for ten years. Voyages were undertaken in 1616, 1619, and again in 1633, of which the most that can be said is that they met with no great disaster. The attempt to found settlements in Java and Madagascar, which was the object of these voyages, completely failed.

The first operations of the French East India Company were to establish factories in Hindostan. Surat, a large commercial city at the mouth of the Taptee, was fixed upon for the principal depot. The abuses and lavish waste of the officers entrusted to carry out Colbert's plans, brought the company to an end in five years.

An attempt in 1672 to form a colony at Trincomalee, on

the north-east coast of Ceylon, was frustrated by the hostility of the Dutch. Afterwards the French made an attempt on Meliapoor or Thomé, belonging to the Portuguese. They were soon expelled, and the survivors sought refuge at Pondicherry, a small town which they had purchased on the same coast of the Carnatic.

In 1693, Pondicherry was taken by the Dutch, who improved the fortifications and general condition of the town. At the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the settlement was restored to the French. For half a century Pondicherry shared the neglect common to French colonies, and owed more to the probity and discretion of its governors than to the home government. M. Martin, and subsequently Dumas, saved the settlement from ruin. They added to the defences; and Dumas, being in want of money for public purposes, obtained permission from the King of Delhi to coin money for the French settlers. He also procured the cession of Karikal, a district of Tanjore. On the other hand, several stations and forts had to be given up.

In 1746 La Bourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, attacked Madras, and compelled it to surrender. Dupleix, as governor of Pondicherry, claimed the supreme power in India. The two commanders could not act harmoniously. La Bourdonnais was recalled, and after suffering a long imprisonment in the Bastille, was only liberated to die in poverty. In 1748, Admiral Boscawen and Major Lawrence made an unsuccessful attack upon Pondicherry. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle between England and France restored Madras to the former in the same year. After the recall of La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, by his prudence and energy, greatly increased French power and influence in India, and almost overthrew that of the English. His statesmanship was assisted by the military skill of Bussy. Trichinopoly, the sole remaining possession of Mohammed Ali, the chief friend of the English in India, was besieged by the French. They were, however, obliged to abandon the

siege by Robert Clive, who subsequently defeated the investing army. In 1756, Dupleix stirred up hostility in Bengal against the English, and Calcutta was taken by Surajah Dowlah, but recovered by Clive, who, by the decisive battle of Plassey, 1757, destroyed French prestige and power in Bengal. Dupleix was recalled not long after. On his return to France he fruitlessly strove to obtain an audience with the king. Broken-hearted at this neglectful treatment, he did not long survive. A gleam of success was shed over the French cause in India in 1758. The Comte de Lally, who succeeded Dupleix, brought out a considerable French force, and for a time carried all before him. The French and their native allies were, however, defeated at Wandewash in 1760, by Sir Eyre Coote. The unfortunate Lally returned to France, and, according to Macaulay, was executed with ignominy. Pondicherry, Mahé, and some other possessions in the Carnatic were restored to the French by the peace of 1763. Permission was given them to build several forts, and to place in them garrisons not exceeding sixteen men. Subsequently Pondicherry was taken and retaken several times alternately by the English and French.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FRANCE (*concluded*).

THE loss of the fishing grounds of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia was compensated for in a great degree by the growing value of the trade with the West Indies. Dutch and other vessels as well as French traded with San Domingo for sugar, coffee, and many less important commodities subsequently distributed throughout Europe. Domestic traffic was promoted by good facilities for transport, whereby wine, works of art, and native produce, both raw and manufactured, could cross France to the coast towns, and thence be exported to the colonies. The wealth of the planters rapidly increased; mainly, however, from the profits of slave labour. They were thus able to expend large sums upon French goods. Even the fall of Quebec, and the consequent loss of Canada, did not seriously diminish the French American trade. At the peace of 1763 Martinique and Guadaloupe were more flourishing than when they were taken by the English, and continued to prosper after their restoration by treaty.

French commerce in the Levant languished for a long while, in consequence of Dutch superiority both in the number of their vessels and in nautical skill. When the commercial power of Holland began to wane, with the rise of that of England, French vessels multiplied in the Mediterranean, carrying wine, brandy, artistic work, and textile fabrics in silk, linen, and wool, to the ports of the Levant, and returning with Oriental produce and silks from Italy and Greece.



The commercial intercourse between France and the rest of Europe comprised every staple of importance. Spain and its colonies were furnished with almost all the necessary products of industry and skill ; for Spanish arts and manufactures had not revived since the impolitic expulsion of the Moors, and the universal state of neglect of industry consequent upon the influx of American gold. Merino wool from Spain was the chief commodity obtained in exchange next to gold. Its fine quality enabled the French in the course of a short time to surpass the English in their woollen manufactures, and to obtain higher prices for their fine cloths.

A small quantity of wool was obtained from England. Russia, Scandinavia, and Germany supplied France with wood, iron, and metals ; Holland with oxen and dairy produce, and Belgium with lace. Fine linen was obtained from both Germany and Holland. At the outbreak of the French Revolution French trade, compared with any previous era, may be described as flourishing. After many intermissions of commercial intercourse between France and England, a treaty was finally negotiated for a mutual interchange of produce. Wine and brandy were sent to England, and English manufactures to an enormous extent began to enter the ports of France, till at last a general outcry was raised that their admission was detrimental to French industry. Thus, while the ready consumption of English goods proved how well they supplied a national want, an ignorant fear of free commerce, which led to a burdensome multiplicity of industrial regulations enforced by police enactments, insisted that the country would be better without them. Unhappily for France, her advances in colonial trade and manufactures were more than counterbalanced by the retrogression of husbandry. Farmers were nearly everywhere poor renters of their holdings, weighed down by tithes and heavy imposts, while their lords lived far off in the manufacturing or maritime towns, or in Paris,

squandering the incomes which they had wrung from their miserable tenants. Pauperism prevailed in every province : husbandmen were without cattle, manure, and implements. The mischievous system of fallows was pursued, till much of the best land lay untilled. Hemp and flax were so poor in quality, and so deficient in quantity, as hardly to affect the imports of material for the linen manufacture ; and wool to an equally small amount was produced for the supply of the cloth-weavers. These grievous evils reached their climax in the last half of the eighteenth century. Colbert's policy of prohibiting the export of corn, which was still pursued, succeeded in keeping it down to the lowest price, but did not sufficiently stimulate its cultivation. The war, too, reduced the number of agricultural labourers. Several inadequate efforts were made to modify the national distress, but it was too deeply rooted for alleviation. The restrictions upon the internal traffic in corn were removed in 1763, and dealers were allowed to send it from one province to another duty free. Previous to this time, if corn had been sent from one end of France to another, state charges would have eaten up its value in passing through each successive province. Such incidental efforts failed to effect any good. They were well meant, but were disconnected and proved totally inadequate. No systematic course, based on true economic principles, was pursued.

At this juncture the ameliorator of agricultural distress was François du Quesnay, born at Merci in 1694, died in 1774. He was the court physician under Louis XV., but interested himself in the grave social questions of the day. Du Quesnay controverted the maxim of Colbert, that money made the wealth of a country. Money, he said, was but one form, and that not the most important, of a nation's wealth, which consists in the sum of the utilised resources of the country. "If we cultivate our lands," he thought, "manufacturing industry will take care of itself."

Du Quesnay was the chief leader of the new school of economists, whose voice then first began to be heard in advocacy of freedom of commerce, manufacture, and of consumption. The prohibition of printed cottons especially, which led to wholesale smuggling, was attacked both in pamphlets and in speech as a typical instance of the tyranny and mischief of protective privileges. The mendicity which covered France was proved to be greatly due to the evils of close guilds, interfering with and limiting the productiveness of every stage of industry. Let us leave industry and commerce free, was Du Quesnay's maxim, and we give free scope to the soil, the source of all wealth. While aiming to improve agriculture he was led to denounce monopolies, patents, inspections, and government agencies, as mere loss subtracted from the value of the produce derived direct from the soil. His principles led both him and his school to the advocacy of perfect industrial and commercial freedom. It was, however, beyond his power to alter the aspect of affairs. Land was overburdened with imposts, and no profit attached to its cultivation. In 1770 the corn restrictions were capriciously reintroduced, and only five years later more violent remedies were needful. The hatred of a long-suffering people was ready to burst into flame, when Turgot in 1775 swept away the tithes and the corn laws, opened up the waste lands to cultivation, introduced the merino sheep to improve the native breeds, paid off fifteen millions of debt, improved the roads, freed the interior transport from onerous dues, and established postal services.

Turgot was a distinguished disciple of Du Quesnay. He was a man of great and noble powers, and gave his profoundest study to the problems of political economy, upon which he wrote with the force of conviction and the clearness of insight. He avoided the error of his master, who slighted the part played by manufactures and trade in the production of wealth, even while he regarded the soil as the prime source of all wealth. He ardently

believed in the doctrines of free industry, and as the controller-general of France he put them into practice. As a prelude to his great reforms, Turgot relieved the glass-makers of Normandy from the obligation of supplying the Paris glaziers with glass at a price fixed by law beforehand; he threw open the trade of steel-polishing, suppressed many minor abuses, and struck terror into the hearts of those who saw in his proceedings a menace to the system by which they had been unjustly enriched. Turgot's fame as a minister and an economist rests principally upon the six famous edicts for the enfranchisement of labour, issued in the year 1776. These edicts abolished the system of forced labour, by which the inhabitants of the country districts had been compelled, at the capricious will of the nobles, to yield unpaid services for days together, with their horses and carts, either in the harvest-fields or in the construction of roads. Many mischievous regulations and offices, designed very probably to facilitate the supply of food to Paris, but which had only trammelled the markets and had been specially inimical to the supply of corn, were put an end to in the mass. Industrial guilds were almost without exception suppressed. Singular and irksome burdens were likewise removed from the butchers and the tallow-chandlers, which latter had not hitherto been allowed to make individual purchases of tallow, but were obliged to buy through, and in the name of, their corporation. Turgot had to stand alone in combat against inveterate abuses of every kind, the efforts of those who profited by these abuses, against stolid indifference and still more stolid ignorance. These measures were now too late—the process of renovation was too slow. The minister was resisted by a servile and corrupt court, and the respect of a well-meaning but feeble king was no defence; the masses were encouraged to resist. The American War called for new sacrifices when the people had scarcely anything left to sacrifice. For some time Turgot stood firm against the storm, but he felt that his hour

was come. In 1776 he was dismissed by the king, and with him went from the royal councils the spirit of justice and liberty that promised so much for France. The country instead of improving rapidly grew worse. Importations of corn could not always be obtained to supply the deficiencies of the scanty home growth. In 1788 and 1789 there was want of bread.

The peculiar scheme of the Mississippi bonds, which made the regency of Louis XV. disastrously memorable, forms a proper addendum to the history of this period of French commerce. France, England, and Holland were seized about the same time with a similar irrational and reckless gambling mania, which entailed upon them alike national demoralisation and wide-spread ruin. The Dutch Tulipomania and the English South-Sea Bubble were represented in Paris by the Mississippi scheme, launched by John Law. The promoter of the company, the son of a Scotch goldsmith, was a daring financier. He proposed to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, a plan to liquidate the vast debts with which the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV. had burdened France. These were such an incubus on the industry of the nation, that the whole annual revenue scarcely sufficed to meet the interest. A means of removing the burden would indeed have been acceptable. Law had previously founded a private bank with a capital of 6,000,000 guilders. He offered to accept at par all the government securities then afloat, although their market value was but 50 per cent. As an equivalent, the bank was to be declared a state bank, and its notes were to pass as current money. Shares in the state bank were secured upon the produce of the gold mines in Louisiana, the direction of which was to be controlled by a Mississippi company. Although gold had not as yet been found in that region—and its geological structure proves that gold never will be found there—shares in the company were eagerly sought. Money poured into the bank treasury, and Law was enabled to declare a dividend of 40 per cent.

to be paid in bank notes. The desire to purchase shares now amounted to a frenzy. The Hôtel de Soissons, in Paris, was besieged by all ranks. Government loan notes were tendered, not for purchase at par, but in payment for shares, if the proprietors were but fortunate enough to get registered. Notes continued to issue till the country was overwhelmed by them. A dividend of 100 per cent. was as easy as that of 5 per cent. when paid in a paper currency, the amount of which was limited only by the means of printing. Government proclamations of the most mischievous as well as absurd character were issued, in order to meet the difficulties of the moment. Owing to the disappearance of coin, it was decreed in 1719 that the bank notes should have the preference as a legal tender. Payments for purchases of a value above 6 livres were illegal, except in paper money. A second edict made it penal to pay more, under any circumstances, than 10 livres in silver and 300 in gold. Again, in 1720, under the belief that coin was being hoarded, people were forbidden to keep at home a sum in coin exceeding 500 livres, or to use any medium of payment for amounts over 100 livres except bank notes. Still money disappeared. The resources of charitable institutions, orphan schools, hospitals, and almshouses were demanded by the state, and exchanged for paper. Finally, the penalty of confiscation was proclaimed against all who should, from the date of the proclamation, keep gold or silver in their houses, whether coined or uncoined, instead of exchanging it for paper money.

With nothing left to confiscate, even arbitrary power was at a loss. The precious metals appeared to have left the country. Foreign merchants could not be compelled to take paper instead of gold, nor could they be prevented from paying in French notes for the goods they bought. Discontent and fear led to hoarding, in spite of proclamations. The medium of exchange was at length reduced entirely to paper. Trade, both foreign and domestic, became paralysed.

Law was for keeping paper money at its legal standard value. The Regent thought to lessen the debts of the state by reducing the notes to half their legal value. Persisting in this course in spite of Law's advice, he destroyed public credit and brought about a panic. The Bank was unable to meet half the demands for specie payment with which it was besieged, and its notes lost all their value. Ruin and despair spread throughout the kingdom. A few were made rich, but thousands were impoverished. Insurrection was imminent, and with great difficulty prevented. The result of an investigation instituted by the Regent proved that nothing but worthless paper remained to represent deposits of 2,000,000,000 livres. That Law believed in the scheme he promoted is more than probable, for he died destitute at Venice. Nor was the Regent enriched. The political consequences of this disaster were as detrimental to France as were the commercial results. Law, in the plenitude of his power, was the controller of the state, and with a stroke of his pen had made trade and labour free throughout the land; for why protect production while wealth flooded France, through the agency of the bank? The reaction was the more bitter and severe. Public opinion, rushing to the opposite extreme, called for the re-imposition of fetters upon industry, the chafing from which created new resentments, which in another reign grew uncontrollable.

We cannot at this distance of time easily estimate the credulity of a nation, led away by the delusion that enormous state debts could be paid off with mere paper in lieu of money, and fortunes be made in the process. Yet a similar delusion prevailed in England, and in the Netherlands. Men's minds had become familiar with vast and rapid profits in connection with the Dutch companies. If the East or West India Company could return 100 per cent. on capital, why not the Mississippi? why not the South Seas? Many schemes for paying off the

national debt of a country have been devised, but nothing of a corresponding character to that of Law's. Our celebrated Sinking Fund, whereby we thought to pay old debts by incurring new, was quite as foolish, although it was not leavened with fraud.



## CHAPTER IX.

### ENGLAND.

THE Wars of the Roses prolonged the infancy of British commerce, but its development was even still more retarded by the hostile leagues formed on the Continent. The Hanse and its allies would allow no participator in their profits, and till the times of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth denied to the English the opportunity of conducting the foreign trade of their own country. The *Great Harry*, built during the reign of Henry VII., was the beginning of that navy which defeated the Invincible Armada in the reign of Elizabeth, and at a later period gave to England supremacy on the ocean. Naval power benefited commerce. As soon as England was able to protect her merchant-shippping and to make reprisals at sea, piracy declined, system was introduced into naval warfare, and respect was secured for the English flag. We may date, therefore, from this comparatively settled period the rise of our national commerce. Records still extant of the manners and customs of the times, show us clearly the nature and rate of our progress since the Tudor period. Sir Walter Raleigh "hated those nasty new oke houses and chimneys;" his reason being, that "when our houses were builded of willow, then we had oken men, but now our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not only become willow, but a great many are altogether of straw." He also advocated the continuance of the plan of allowing the smoke to find its way out by chinks and crannies; for "just as it hardened the timber of the house, so did it

season the body and keep the good man and his family out of the hands of the quack!"

By an ordinance of the king in 1526, it was provided that the scullions in the royal kitchen should be furnished with proper clothing, and should not "go naked, or in garments of such vileness as they now do, nor lie in the nights and days in the kitchens or ground by the fireside," the reason being given "for the better avoyding of corruption and uncleanness, out of the king's house, which doth engender danger of infection, and is very noisome and displeasant."

Erasmus ascribes the plague from which England was hardly ever free, and the sweating sickness, to the "uncommodious houses, the filthiness of the streets, and the sluttishness within doors." He describes the floors as "of clay strewed with rushes, under which lies an ancient collection of beer, grease, bones, and everything that is nasty."

Wolsey's custom when going to Westminster Hall was to carry an orange, the pulp of which had been replaced by a sponge saturated with essences, "the which he smelt into, to avoid the pestilent odours from the suitors."\*

Before the end of Elizabeth's reign much of this was changed. Houses began to be built with a view to domestic comfort, rather than for defence. Tasteful furniture displaced the rude household arrangements of earlier days. Towns increased in size and importance. Rich raiment and choice food from Holland, Italy, and the East found their way to the dwellings of the wealthy. French, Spanish, and Rhenish wines, from being the exclusive luxuries of the court, became the beverage of the middle classes. It was the cherished object of the Tudor dynasty to exalt the wealth and power of England. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were often arbitrary, legislating for the moment and not for time; yet they never displayed the blind perversity of Spain in their counsels, and abuses were not clung to the

\* The above illustrations are taken from "The Babees' Book," edited for the Early English Text Society by F. J. Furnivall, 1868.

more obstinately the more baneful they proved. Exclusive privileges had been granted to foreigners, while the social distractions of England had obstructed native enterprise. Not only was the shipping almost wholly foreign, but Lombard, Dutch, and Hanse merchants had their establishments in England, and monopolized the most lucrative branches of trade. To such a height had this state of things proceeded, that, as a writer stated, "no man now almost buyeth of an Englishman." Foreign merchants alone could supply many commodities which had become necessities of life amongst the English, and so slow was the process of beating the quality of these products by native skill, that even when the belief prevailed that their use was a national injury, the demand for them still continued. A misdirected anger against the continental dealers was at length kindled, and in the metropolis it broke out into riot in 1517, with the cry of "Down with the Lombards and foreigners." English feeling was most strongly excited against the arrogant power and bad faith of the Hanse, whose factory in the Steel Yard of London was a state within a state, having the right of importing and exporting goods free of customs. So strong was the power of the Hanse, even after the discovery of the Cape route to India, that they set at nought the obligation they were under to open their ports to English vessels. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. successively warned the confederacy without effect. Edward VI., in 1552, decreed that the factory had lost its rights by non-observance of its charter, and that there should no longer be any difference between the Hanse and other merchants in respect to customs dues. An occasion for giving a final blow to the Hanse in England arose in Elizabeth's reign, when the emperor Rudolf II. shut up all the factories in Germany held by the English merchant-adventurers. Elizabeth seized the opportunity, and by closing the Steel Yard removed the chief shackle upon British trade.

The dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII. was regarded by his subjects with a passive submission, if not with satisfaction. The time had passed when these religious communities were the only patrons and encouragers of artificers and husbandmen. The distribution of the Church lands tended to improve agriculture, and thereby to extend manufactures. Sheep were bred in larger numbers, and more wool was produced. As our natural resources were better utilised, the means of interchange were enlarged, and commerce extended. Indian spices, Turkey carpets, Muscatel, Chian, and Malmsey wines, silks, camlets, rhubarb, gums, and drugs were sought in the Levantine ports and other places of the Mediterranean. A year was allowed for the accomplishment of voyages, a fact proving the vast advance we have made in recent days in the art of navigation, and in commercial negotiation. London, Southampton, and Bristol now began to carry on a trade with various quarters of the globe in English ships. Henry VII., after the discovery of the New World by Columbus, empowered John Cabot and his sons to undertake voyages of discovery, and to plant the English flag on any city, island, or continent that they might find. It was in the right of the discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot that England claimed the greatest part of British North America. One object of these voyages was to find a short way to India by a north-west passage across the New World, the attainment of which object was thwarted by the severe cold of the high latitudes through which the channel is now known to pass. At the same time expeditions were fitted out to explore a north-east route to India, with such assurance of success that the vessels were sheathed with lead, a new contrivance to defend the hull from the attacks of worms in the tropical seas. In the first of these expeditions, A.D. 1553, Sir Hugh Willoughby and the crews of two vessels perished from cold on the Lapland shores. Richard Chancellor, commanding the third vessel, reached the White Sea, a

place where he "found no night at all, but the sun always shining." Ivan Vasilovitch (Ivan IV.), the Czar of Muscovy, hearing of the arrival of the strangers, sent for them to Moscow, received them with favour, and entered into correspondence with the English sovereign for the purpose of opening up a trade. Chancellor, in 1555, again visited the Czar, under the auspices of the Incorporated Society of Merchant Adventurers, and gained permission to settle and trade in any part of the Russian dominions, exempt from any toll, tax, or impost. The first cargo was a valuable one, and with it an ambassador and ten Muscovite nobles came to England. Such was the origin of the English-Russian Company; the success of which was much aided by the umbrage the Czar had taken at the insolence of the Hanse, whose representatives were expelled from his dominions, and whose extensive commerce was transferred to the new merchants.

Insurmountable difficulties beset the north-east maritime passage to "Cathay," as the regions of China and India were then called, and Anthony Jenkinson, one of the leading directors of the Russian Company, afterwards the envoy of Elizabeth at the Muscovite court, undertook a journey overland. Sailing down the Volga, he arrived at Astrakhan, when he started for Persia, and finally reached the city of Bokhara. His report, after a survey extending over two years, was unfavourable; the length and difficulty of transit, together with the sterile character of the districts through which he travelled, being more than enough to render trade along the route unprofitable.

British trade with the west coast of Africa was initiated in 1562, by Captain J. Hawkins, who obtained by barter a valuable cargo of gold, gums, and ivory. His voyage was unenviably notorious as having given rise to the English traffic in negro slaves.

Elizabeth, of all the Tudors, promoted British commerce most effectually. She deprived foreign merchants of their

privileges, forbade foreign vessels to enter English harbours, granted numerous monopolies to encourage home enterprise, and in every way, according to her judgment, assisted the country in gaining the foremost place in the race for prosperity. We can see that some of these restrictions did harm instead of good; that the community at large was debarred the enjoyment of many useful commodities, and was made to pay dearer to native traders for worse articles than could be got abroad. The nation at large in this manner was taxed for the benefits of special interests—the many for the few. Under Elizabeth, monopolies became so oppressive that at length her own convictions and policy underwent a change. Patents had been granted for almost every constituent of trade and manufactures, and the prices of iron, lead, coal, and saltpetre, oil, vinegar, starch, yarn, skins, leather, and glass, were so inordinate, that her subjects openly denounced the law, and threatened tumult. The queen, however, wisely yielded, and thanked the House of Commons for calling her attention to the grievance.

England, quickened by the spirit of the age, had made progress even while impeded by these monopolies. As soon as they were removed, a fair start was taken towards a prosperity destined to surpass all other examples in history. The queen was ambitious that England should rival Spain in geographical discovery and in extent of territory. She promoted at state cost voyages of discovery. Cabot's discoveries had yielded little beyond the fisheries of Newfoundland, and these had been neglected. In 1576, Martin Frobisher, a daring mariner, was appointed to the command of an expedition for making another north-west exploration. Frobisher repeated his attempt in the two succeeding years, making in all three voyages, and bringing back a cargo of ore which was thought to contain gold, but which proved valueless. John Davis made three voyages among the polar icebergs during the years 1585—1587.

Commercially the voyages of these bold seamen were of little value, but indirectly they were of the greatest importance. The hardy sailors nursed in these perilous seas were the fore-runners of those "hearts of oak" which have maintained the honour of the British flag, and conducted the vast commerce of Britain through every difficulty. Their reports of the numerous whales frequenting these seas gave rise to the British whale fisheries.

More prominent as historical facts are the voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, who at an interval of eleven years successively sailed round the world. Their voyages, however, were little more than piratical attacks on the rich galleons of Spain, a country with which England was nominally at peace. Drake came home laden with treasure, and was received with honour. When the king of Spain remonstrated, the queen disputed the Spanish claim to America, either as a gift from the pope, or on any other pretence, and refused to recognise any exclusive right to the seas, which "neither nature nor public use and custom gave to any nation or private person." Drake's vessel was preserved at Deptford as long as it remained sound, and a chair made from its timbers is still to be seen at the university of Oxford. Success almost as great attended Cavendish, of whom it was narrated that "he set out with sails of canvas and returned with sails of silk." Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher served against the Spanish Armada in 1588, and after its destruction Spain was compelled to yield to England the freedom of the seas, and an equal right to establish colonies on American soil. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, English merchants were looking to India as a promising field for trade. Failure to reach India by the polar seas, both to the east and west, did not daunt adventurers. After the abortive attempt through Russia, Ralph Fitch, in 1583, tried the old path of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, but was seized and imprisoned by the Portuguese at Ormuz. James Lancaster,

in 1591, with three vessels sailed in the track of the Portuguese, round the Cape of Good Hope. India was not reached, and Lancaster, with seven companions, were the sole survivors of a disastrous voyage. The determination, however, to trade with the East was not given up. The last day of the first year of the seventeenth century was signalled by the incorporation of the Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. Five ships laden with merchandise were despatched under Captain Lancaster. Their commander visited Sumatra and Java, established factories, and returned with freights of great value. The success of the enterprise, which Elizabeth did not live to see, gave promise of a vigorous growth of the new company; without, however, foreshadowing the imperial splendour which awaited it. With every increase in our mercantile marine, trade with European states, as well as that with the other continents, grew into greater importance. Our only rivals with Russia were the Dutch. Communication was carried on with Scandinavia, Denmark, and the Netherlands, Antwerp being the great commercial centre until its fall, when Amsterdam took its place, France sent us wine and linen in return chiefly for fish, and our commercial intercourse with Germany and Italy steadily expanded.

In Elizabeth's reign ship-building underwent a complete change. Year by year there was less occasion for the use of foreign ships to conduct the English commerce. About three hundred and fifty vessels were pressed into the defence against the fleet of Spain. Most of these were merchant ships. As yet there existed but the nucleus of a royal navy, and many of the Spanish prizes served to swell the number of the English fleet.

During the same period improvements were introduced into agriculture and the handicrafts. In some years farm-produce was so abundant that the proportion of exports to imports was reversed, and corn was sent abroad instead of



being imported. Hemp and flax were successfully cultivated. Manufactures were stimulated by the arrival from the Spanish Netherlands of the woollen-workers who were driven thence by the persecutions of Philip II.

Prosperity in England was promoted by co-operation. There were few individual owners of large capitals, and companies administering the conjoint capital of many persons were found necessary to carry on trades which, in later days, would have been inconsiderable to private individuals. Such companies were chartered with exclusive rights and privileges for trade with Turkey, the Levant, Africa, the Baltic, and the East Indies. Almost the whole export trade, the staple of which was wool, fell under the control of the Company of Adventurers. Wealth asserted its presence in the manners and customs of the people. Splendour began to mark the style of living, not only of royalty and the nobility, but of the commercial classes. In London there lived merchants whose opulence and public spirit fitted them for state advisers, and for employment in foreign missions. The most notable of these was Sir Thomas Gresham, the builder of the Royal Exchange, until whose time London merchants used to meet in the open air, in the narrow thoroughfare of Lombard Street. Gresham was a merchant and banker, and, in the service of Edward VI., visited Antwerp forty times on financial business. He succeeded at last in relieving the government from the grievous exactions of Dutch and Jewish money-lenders, and transferring the business to native bankers. After having been knighted by Queen Elizabeth, who opened his new Exchange in person, he was ever known as the royal merchant. The romantic history of Edward Osborne, citizen and cloth-worker, who saved the life of his master's daughter by jumping into the Thames, when she accidentally fell out of the window of her father's house on London Bridge, is well known. She subsequently married her preserver, to the refusal of the Earl of Shrewsbury and

other noble suitors. From this union sprang the ducal house of Leeds. A Flemish silk-weaver, by his industry, intelligence, and skill, rose to wealth and eminence in the same reign, and left his fair fame to descendants, one of whom reached the honour and dignities of the dukedom of Radnor.

The queen's example encouraged a taste for magnificence in apparel. Her name, too, has been associated with the domestic architecture of the period. Luxury at table likewise prevailed, and sumptuous habits spread from the capital to the provinces.

For one hundred and eighteen years, under the Tudor sovereigns, England raised her head proudly amid the great nations of Europe. With the extinction of the Tudor line, the prosperity of the country was seriously arrested. Under the Stuarts the progress was slow, and production in many departments ceased. James I. revived the abuse of monopolies, till the House of Commons passed a measure which the king sanctioned, making monopoly illegal except for new inventions. To such paltry privileges did this system extend under James, who was ready to sell for ready money either a patent of monopoly or a patent of nobility, that one Sanders Duncombe enjoyed for fourteen years the exclusive right of letting out sedan chairs. The troubles during the reign of Charles I. interfered with advancement, and the administration of Cromwell was too short-lived to effect much good, although his tenure of power was signalised (in 1651) by the English Navigation Act, which, for good or evil, moulded our foreign commerce for the next two hundred years. In this interval the Netherlands recovered their previous pre-eminence, and their commerce everywhere prospered. The Portuguese, French, and Dutch, carried on a large trade with India. The industrious communities of Europe beat us in the manufacture of our own wool and in dyeing, and by the neglect of our fisheries, that industry was thrown open to the Dutch, who supplied

our markets with the produce of our own fishing-grounds. British degradation reached its lowest depth in the reign of Charles II., who suffered defeat from the Dutch and received alms from France, while he spent the naval supplies upon courtesans, leaving commerce to perish.

Cromwell's celebrated Act created a gigantic monopoly of the English nation against the world. By it, vessels built in England or a British colony were alone to be employed in the importation of goods into England from the three continents of Asia, Africa, and America; whilst European merchantmen could introduce into British ports only the produce of the states to which they belonged. English ownership of vessels engaged in foreign trade was made a necessity, and at least two-thirds of the crew were required to be native born. No foreigner was permitted to trade in any port of the British empire at home or abroad, under the penalty of forfeiture of his stock-in-trade. The weak points of this measure may be easily indicated. If it were no benefit to the English for Dutch ships to bring Indian produce, the English could have prevented it by ceasing to deal with them, and an Order in Council would have been needless; but if it were a benefit, the English cut themselves off from it. The Dutch had been encouraged because they supplied English wants well and cheaply. To reverse these arrangements was to have them worse supplied for the future, and at a greater expense. The prosperity observable afterwards was in spite of, rather than in consequence of the new law, and is an example of coincidence mistaken as it often is for causation. A comparison between the foreign commerce of England and Holland, after the experience of half a century, shows the working of Cromwell's policy, which primarily arose out of animosity to the Dutch, whose trade it was intended to cripple. Its first result was, however, a war between Holland and England, which lasted for three years. Before the close of the seventeenth century we find that our trade with Russia and

Greenland had been reduced to comparatively nothing ; while the Dutch had not only added ours to theirs, but had deprived us of our herring-fisheries and underbidden us for the Spanish wool trade. English trade with India was declining, but the Dutch trade had largely increased. In fine, the Act had not, as was intended, induced the English to become more active merchants, and to seek for themselves the commodities once brought to their doors, but had very perceptibly decreased the influx of these commodities. The Navigation Act continued in force, however, till times quite recent, when its fallacious principles fell before a clearer knowledge of economic science.

Although the Navigation Act was thus, perhaps, a check to progress instead of a stimulus to production, yet the security from competition so long enjoyed encouraged the growth of wealth. English ships began to engage in foreign trade, and were seen in the free harbours of the republic, trafficking with the Dutch, while the latter were prohibited from entering the English ports, if laden with other than their own productions. The English gradually supplanted the Dutch, and by degrees got hold of much of the carrying trade which had been the chief source of the wealth of Holland. The Baltic and Mediterranean ports were shortly supplied from England direct. English husbandry meanwhile improved, though it did not excel that of the Dutch ; and English manufactures also every year advanced. Cromwell's energy for a time directed affairs ; war soon ceased, and prosperity became more general than it had been for the two preceding generations. The era of the Stuarts gave birth to the cotton manufactures of our country. Cotton wool was imported from the Levant, and at first only used in mixed fabrics. Manchester was the earliest, as it afterwards was the greatest seat of this industry.

The modern system of banking was introduced about the same time. It had been usual for merchants to deposit their surplus funds in the Mint for safe custody. Charles I.

seized these funds as a forced loan, and thus by a breach of faith destroyed the government credit, and, as the inevitable result, put an end to the custom. City goldsmiths of high repute were now entrusted with valuable deposits. They paid the merchants interest, and gave receipts which were negotiable like modern bank-notes. These goldsmiths were also the resource of the government when money was needed; they made advances on the mortgage of future revenues. At a later date, these custodians and lenders of money merged into bankers.

Another important aid to industry and trade, that of the post, was reduced to a system during Cromwell's Protectorate, with a government guarantee of security. Many modes of conveying letters had been in vogue before this time, but it was reserved for Cromwell to substitute for the ineffective machinery of private hands the prompt, efficient, cheap, and trustworthy control of a government department. By the Act of 1656, a postmaster-general was appointed, and foot-posts, horse-posts, and packet-boats were thereafter forbidden to private persons for postal purposes. One object of the Act was to discover wicked and dangerous designs contrived against the Commonwealth. Government still possesses the right of opening letters passing through the post.

*Scotland.*—The kingdom of Scotland, during this time, was in a far ruder condition than England. The desperate struggle necessary in order to regain independence, the devastating wars with the English, and, at a later time, domestic broils and religious animosities, checked trade. The Highlanders had hardly emerged from barbarism. Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish envoy, who knew Scotland well, and was a personal friend of James IV., in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella (1498), described the Highlanders as "the savages who inhabit some parts of Scotland and the Isles." Agriculture was backward. Manufactures were few and rude. The ancient forests of the country, of which the

names, applied to treeless regions, still survive, had been burnt down during the wars, and it required strict measures on the part of the government to secure the planting and preservation of timber enough for the ordinary purpose of husbandry and building.

"The commencement of the sixteenth century shows Scotland making effective progress as a naval power. To the making of such a power there go three things—a great sea-board, an enterprising population fond of the sea, and available wealth, or, as it is called, floating capital. Scotland eminently possessed the first qualification, and her people inherited enough of the old Norse blood to supply abundance of the second (as they still do). King James IV. took a deep personal interest in the progress of a shipping force, and felt great delight in visiting the building-yards and encouraging inventions in shipbuilding. It was his ambition, as it has been that of others in later times, to create a ship that should be the wonder of the seas. 'In the same year [1511] the king builded a great ship called the *Michael*, whilk was ane very monstrous great ship. For this ship took so mekil timber that she wasted all the woods in Fyfe except Falkland wood, forby the timber that came out of Norway. For many of the shipwrights in Scotland wrought at her, and wrights of other countries had their device at her, and all wrought busily the space of an year at her. This ship was twelve score foots length; thirty-sax foot within the walls. She was ten foot thick within the walls of cutted risles of oak, so that noe cannon could do at her. When she was committed to the sea and under sail, she was cranted to the king to forty thousand pound of expenses, forby her orders and canons whilk she bare. She had 300 mariners to govern her, 6 score gunners to use her artillery, and ane thousand men of war—by captains, skippers, and quarter-masters.'—*Lindsay of Pitscottie*. The impulse given to naval architecture in Scotland is evidently due to peace having brought prosperity to a people naturally

fitted for that form of enterprise. There were, however, external as well as internal conditions necessary for the nourishment of shipping and trade. Suppose a community to have every possible means and aptitude for becoming a great shipping state, if there is at hand a larger state with the same qualifications, which deals with its neighbour as an enemy ever to be attacked and injured, the shipping of the smaller will be swept from the sea, and all its efforts to grow into a naval power be blighted. So it was with Scotland. The brief growth of a shipping power, mercantile and warlike, at the conclusion of the fifteenth century, is due to Scotland having become rich at a time when England was enfeebled and impoverished by the Wars of the Roses. When the greater nation recovered its strength, the expansive power of the smaller was checked. In the direction of navigation and foreign trade, Scotland was engaged in a hopeless struggle with England down to the time when, under Cromwell, the nations were united with common encouragements and restraints. The contest broke out again at the Restoration, and its last incident was just before the incorporating Union, when Scotland, in reprisal for injuries committed by England on her shipping, seized an English vessel in Scottish waters, and hanged the crew for piracy.\*

*Ireland.*—Cattle-grazing was the principal occupation of the Irish; tillage in comparison being insignificant. There were a few manufactures of leather, coarse woollens, and linen, which, with hides, hemp, flax, and linen yarn, constituted the bulk of Irish wares. Trade was almost confined to England, though, to a small extent, it was carried on with Antwerp. Ireland, however, was much neglected by her rulers, and her great natural resources were unimproved.

\* "History of Scotland," by J. H. M. Burton, vol. iv. p. 232.

## CHAPTER X.

### ENGLAND (*concluded*).

#### *I.—COLONIAL HISTORY.*

DEVELOPED through numberless disasters, our vast colonial empire, in its birth and early history, shed a lustre upon the glorious reign of Elizabeth. The tragic fate of many bold men acted like a charm on the venturesome spirits of others. While the primary object of their voyages was often impossible of attainment, unexpected results made up for seeming failures. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's fatal expedition in 1583, in search of the North-West Passage, led to the colonisation of Newfoundland, and fired the emulation of his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, to undertake the establishment of other American settlements. Raleigh explored the continent further south, and took possession of a tract to which, in honour of the queen, he gave the name of Virginia, and which included the present state of that name and also Maryland. The first settlement was made in 1585, on the island of Roanoke, now uninhabited. Quarrels with the natives of the interior, and scarcity of provisions, induced the colonists in the following year to return home in the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. Another effort in 1587 ended more disastrously. The emigrants with their wives and families were equipped with all the essentials for farming, but the first objects which met their gaze at Roanoke were the blanched bones of the guard of pioneers, all of whom had been murdered by the Indians. The first child born of English parents on American soil was the daughter of Governor Dare, named from the place of her



birth Virginia. The fate of the early settlement is still involved in doubt. All the colonists had disappeared in 1589, when the spot was again visited ; whether carried off or massacred by the Indians has never been ascertained. Seven times Raleigh essayed to plant colonies in Virginia, and shattered his fortune in these attempts. His memorial remains in the name of Raleigh City, the capital of North Carolina, thus designated in his honour two centuries after his death. Failing in North America, he changed the field of his exploits to Guiana, whither he conducted a small community. The hardships, dangers, and eventual failure of this colony are also matters of history ; and equally so are the subsequent persecution and fate of the valiant leader. British colonisation during the Tudor period was not a success. No plantations took root in Virginia till the year 1607. In the previous year, King James I. had granted Virginia and New England respectively to the London and Plymouth companies, which had been instituted to promote colonisation. All the territories between  $34^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  north latitude were made over to the first company, and those between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  to the second, for twenty-five years, with authority to levy dues upon all foreigners settling among them. Sommers and Gates were the governors of the London Company. A reservation was made of a royalty of 20 per cent. on all silver produced, and of one-fifteenth of the value of all other minerals. The king likewise retained the right of appointing a governing council of fifteen persons. Under these conditions nine thousand planters went to Virginia. The evil fate of the early settlers pursued them. At the end of twenty years, instead of the population having increased, there were but eighteen hundred emigrants alive. Sickness, disunion, and attacks by the Indians had combined to carry them off, and more than once the colonies were on the point of breaking up. At one time a station of sixty colonists, reduced to that number from five hundred living there six months before,

had embarked for Newfoundland, when they were dissuaded by the opportune arrival of Lord Baltimore, with new emigrants and stores. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and wished to propagate his own faith, but, wisely preferring the good of the colony, he prevailed upon the settlers to establish a free asylum for every kind of worship and creed. The colonists took no part in the civil wars of England, beyond welcoming the disaffected of all parties. When, however, liberty of thought seemed secured by the triumph of the Parliamentary party, many exiles returned home. Their places were filled afterwards by Catholics, Puritans, and Quakers, who had suffered from home persecutions.

Amongst others, the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 planted themselves in New England. The conquest of Jamaica by Cromwell in 1655 was but little appreciated, yet it brought eventually a great accession to English commerce. For fifty years the Dutch contended with the English, who at the end of that time were left in undisputed possession of the Dutch settlements, whereupon the name of the Dutch capital was changed from New Amsterdam to New York. Carolina, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were founded in the reign of Charles II. Causes of the most diverse character—voluntary emigration and enforced exile, political and religious persecution—increased the population of the colonies. A special impetus was given by the arrival of two thousand skilled operatives, the majority cloth-workers, whom the terrors of the great plague of 1665 had driven from London. Political as well as religious liberty fostered the prosperity of these colonies. William Penn set the example of peace and freedom, and thereby attracted the Huguenots to settle in Charlestown and Carolina. Foreigners immediately upon settling received the rights of citizenship. German communities emigrated in a body to obtain these privileges, and the tide of colonists gained still greater proportions at the opening of the eighteenth century. The colonies moreover

were early used as penal settlements for criminal and political offences. One other element of population was that of slavery. Two citizens of Boston traded to Guinea for negroes; but the cargo they brought home excited indignation throughout Massachusetts, and was carried back to Africa at the public expense, while the slave-traders were denounced and punished for a crime against the laws of God and the country. Virginia, however, yielded to the temptation of cheap black labour, and initiated in the south a traffic whose future dimensions, could they have been foreseen, would have appalled the colony. Under William III. England began to derive visible benefits from her dependencies. It was perceived that the colonies possessed exhaustless resources in the iron and copper, the timber, tar, potash, and other forest products; the corn, rice, hemp, flax, tobacco, and indigo, which were of more economic value than the gold mines of Spain. The parliament remitted the customs on produce brought from British North America, in order to encourage its cultivation. In the ensuing reign bounties were even offered upon ships, timber, and other useful commodities from the same parts.

The injustice of the Navigation Act was soon evinced in relation to the colonists, who evaded its articles with impunity whenever it interfered with their profits, sending their goods to French and Dutch markets if better prices could be obtained. England was placed in a dilemma. At first the stringent provisions of the Act were qualified in favour of the colonies. The British at home then complained that their rights were infringed. Still no argument could persuade the colonists to sell their wares to the home country at a low price when they could get a higher for them elsewhere. A double proof of the faulty nature of the law was thus afforded, for it was disregarded by those whom it was intended to bind, and its infraction was allowed by its enactors, who could not enforce its provisions.

England was unable to supply her numerous colonies with all the commodities they were prepared to buy, and was equally unable to take from them the whole of their surplus produce. To enlarge the marketable area by enfranchising other ports would violate the Navigation Act. There was another course open: it was to cut down production on both sides by a heavy tariff of duties. For a time this was endured. Both parties were fitted with a drag upon their wheels, and saved from the perils of growing rich too fast. The colonists first grew tired of the arrangement. A new and arbitrary enactment of taxation in 1763 for the benefit of the home government exhausted their patience, and led to the revolution of which American independence was the result. It needed the costly and emphatic lesson of the severance of the United States to teach the government the folly of exercising too strict a tutelage over young and vigorous dependencies.

Canada in the same year, 1763, came under English rule, as a result of Wolfe's victory over the French four years previously at Quebec. The disbanded troops were allowed to remain in the colony as British subjects, receiving allotments of land according to their rank. Our insular settlements in the West Indies suffered greatly from the errors of government. Before the French Revolution the English colonies were less flourishing than San Domingo, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, the quantity of sugar produced in San Domingo was three times that of Jamaica, although the French part of the island was neither larger nor more fertile than the English colony. This disparity was due to the meddling of our home government, contrasted with the non-interference of the French in the development of Hayti. Our policy for several generations had been to keep the colonies dependent and feeble. English planters were not allowed to refine their own sugar, but were obliged to send it home in order to encourage native industry. French planters refined their sugar before exporting it, and

thus two industries were encouraged. As a result, the profits were sufficient to tempt the owners of French plantations to live on their estates, whereas in Jamaica the owners entrusted their plantations to overseers and lived in England. So it was also with coffee. Its use as a beverage in England had to be fought for against the opposition of the government, who at one time suppressed all the coffee-houses by proclamation (1675), and long regarded them with suspicion as hot-beds of political intrigue. Its cultivation in consequence was checked, and another source of wealth was thus discountenanced. As the colonies prospered, they carried on with the mother-country a thriving trade in those articles which had become necessary to comfortable existence. As if the ties of nature and of use—which is second nature—could not be relied upon, the loyalty of the colonists was further secured by law, which forbade them to supply their wants from any place but their native land. This restriction, so well calculated to keep the amenities of commerce within narrow bounds, was enforced by Spain and France as well as England. Colonies of the same parent state were denied commercial intercourse with each other. Only by special privilege England suffered her North American colonies to supply flour, wood, and fish to the neighbouring settlements. Such unwise interference with the free course of trade led to subterfuge and fraud, and the colonists did not scruple to trade with the French and other settlers even during the time of war. Food, apparel, and building materials were obtained with the surplus colonial wealth, as well as household furniture and works of art.

*Africa.*—The Senegal Company, established a few years before the death of Elizabeth, met with a determined opposition to their trade on the African shores from the Portuguese and the Dutch, and later from the French. These quarrels lasted for seventy years; but by the convention of Breda in 1667, at the conclusion of the war between Holland and England, all the privileges and facilities enjoyed by

ships of either nation were to be "mutual in every way on both sides."

Under Charles II. the slave trade was carried on at a great profit by a company, and subsequently, when the Assiento treaty put an end to the long-continued contests between the French and English by defining and securing the rights of each, the profits of the African trade rose to its highest point. Our African possessions, continental and insular, became numerous and important. On the west coast lay the military and naval stations of Sierra Leone and Senegambia. In the Atlantic St. Helena, ceded by the Dutch to the English in 1673, became a place of call for Indiamen to take in water and fresh provisions. Ascension, discovered by the Portuguese in 1501, was an important rendezvous and victualling depot for vessels from the Cape and the Indies.

## *II.—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.*

THE famous East India Company, chartered by Elizabeth in 1600, met with undreamt-of success, dividing upon the two pioneer voyages profits of nearly 100, and upon the third voyage of 236, per cent. Dutch jealousy rendered the attempt to form settlements on the islands of the Eastern seas for a long while unsuccessful. On the mainland the Portuguese proved less formidable, but not less jealous competitors. Bribing the Great Mogul with rare presents and deferential missions, the English company conciliated his favour, which the Portuguese had never been able to obtain. Factories were planted at Surat, whence the Portuguese were expelled, and at a later period on both the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. Masulipatam, Calicut, and Delhi were three of the earliest English trading stations. Ormuz, the chief depot of the Portuguese, was taken in 1622, and Shah Abbas, with whom the English were acting in alliance, gave them the port of Gombroon,

opposite Ormuz, which city he razed to the ground. By taking advantage of the quarrels among the native Indian princes, and craftily siding with one or the other, the company in the end gained an ascendancy over them all. Forts and agencies multiplied during the seventeenth century. Bombay became an English possession in 1663, by the marriage of Charles II. to a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. An insignificant township named Calcutta (or in its original form, *Kallighatte*) was purchased in 1698, and eight years after the factory of Hooghly was removed to it. Calcutta became afterwards the capital of Bengal, and the seat of the supreme government of India. The factory, which was defended by a garrison, was then usually known by the name of Fort William, as Madras, a trade site established twenty-one years earlier, was distinguished by the name of Fort George.

Charles I. and Cromwell were too much occupied with domestic affairs to give attention to India and the progress of the East India Company, in whose monopoly the trade with China was included. Tea was brought to London as a great rarity just before the Restoration, and in Charles II.'s reign it became a regular import, in which the crown saw a source of revenue. The king took no heed of the interests involved in our foreign trade, but the nation at large participated in the spirit of commercial enterprise which the discoveries of several generations had stimulated. Luxurious tastes were created by the additions to our wealth. Spices and jewels from India were highly prized, and its cotton and linen fabrics augmented our stores of clothing. India in the eyes of the government was valued chiefly as a great source whence saltpetre could be obtained. As the science of war advanced, there arose an increased demand for nitre, which Europe could not satisfy, but the Indian supplies were abundant enough to meet the wants of all. With increasing business profits Indian stock improved in value. Shares of £100 bought at par, but which had fallen to £60,

rose in the market to £245, £300, £360, and it is even averred that some transactions took place at £500. Sir Josiah Child, once an errand-boy in a counting-house, obtained the uncontrolled direction of this vast monopoly, to retain which he disbursed hundreds of thousands of pounds of the revenues of the company. Charles himself did not disdain a bribe of £10,000, and his royal brother was equally gracious. Sir Josiah married his daughter to the Duke of Beaufort, made his brother John governor of Bombay, and put his relatives and friends into every place of trust.

The Revolution of 1688 threatened extinction to this monopoly. A fierce controversy was waged upon the subject of the privileges of the corporation, and a new company was formed. A minority of Englishmen held that the tissues brought from India injured the English weaving industry: cotton and silks were taking the place of good old wool and linen. "Things that our fathers were proud to wear ought surely to be good enough for us." Manufacturers in want of customers cried out for trade prohibitions. Sir Josiah Child, on the other hand, refused a bill for the incorporation of the companies which had been introduced into parliament, taking his stand on the principles that it was unwise to restrict the price of saltpetre sold to the government, or bind the company as to the quantity of English goods it should annually export to India. His defence of free trade was an able array of what have become truisms, but what were not so clear in those days; indeed, the disputant could not see how plainly they told against his own privileges. "It was never," he declared with much spirit, "found politic to put trade into straitlaced bodices, which, instead of making it grow upright and thrive, must either kill it or force it away." There was indeed a strong show of reason in the arguments generally used in support of the company. European trade was watched over by the consuls and ambassadors of the various states; any wrong done to a subject could be



quickly remedied, but beyond the Cape of Good Hope there was no such protection, and every trader had to defend himself. It was necessary that a military character should attach to trading; that forts should be built and garrisoned, the cost and maintenance of which could be provided for only by a powerful body, whose privileges were but an adequate recompense for the duties they undertook to perform.

Meanwhile the merchants of London, envious of the wealth which poured in upon a few fortunate enough to enjoy a royal monopoly, set the company's charter at defiance, and equipped vessels for the Indian trade. When caught they were treated without mercy as pirates by the agents of the company. Nevertheless, they increased in number and boldness, and forming themselves in 1698 into a rival company, disputed in parliament the renewal of the charter. The old company wisely agreed to a partnership, which was carried into effect in 1702, under the designation of the United East India Company. For a century this company held despotic sway. Its charter was renewed despite opposition upon the payment of fines and granting loans to the state on easy terms, all merchants being warned off from Indian commerce as poachers from a preserve.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the East India Company retained a purely commercial character. Empire was not aimed at till the Mogul dynasty fell. The distractions which followed the death of Aurungzebe led to wars threatening the very existence of English power in India. France strained every nerve to profit by the disputes of native princes, and to get a firmer territorial footing. By judicious alliances and shrewd administration, the French gained ground so fast, that the English cause seemed well-nigh lost. It was saved by the valour of Robert, afterwards Lord, Clive, who overthrew the power of the French, made the Indian princes vassals of the

company, and the traders of Leadenhall Street the despots of India. Clive, whose military genius turned the scale in favour of England and annihilated the French power in India, was a clerk in the company's service at Madras. Having obtained a commission, he undertook an expedition against the capital of the Carnatic, to compel the French to raise the siege of Trichinopoly, in which he succeeded, and afterwards defended Arcot with the small force of four hundred men, for fifty days, against overwhelming assailants, whom he wearied out and finally defeated. Clive then turned to Calcutta, and retook it from Surajah Dowlah, by whom, with the aid of the French, it had been captured. He afterwards defeated that prince at the decisive battle of Plassey. Hyder Ali, a bold adventurer, who had constituted himself Rajah of Mysore, carried on a war with the English from 1767 to 1782 with such skill and success, that it required all the statesmanship of Warren Hastings and the valour of Sir Eyre Coote to reduce him to subjection. Tippoo Sahib, his son, was at feud with the English more than once. In 1791 he was forced to surrender to the Marquis of Cornwallis, to pay a ransom of £3,500,000, and to relinquish half his kingdom. On his again taking up arms, in 1799, General Baird laid siege to Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. Tippoo was slain in the assault, and his territories became an English dependency. Wars, annexations, purchases, and acquisitions by treaty make up much of the after history of British India.

### *III.—INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL PROGRESS.*

THE accession of William and Mary to the throne of England ushered in an epoch as revolutionary in trade as in politics. For a century the produce of the East and the West had been enjoyed, and tastes had been imbibed, which prepared the way for social changes. The use of

coffee and tea necessitated that of sugar, the place of which had hitherto been supplied by honey. Tobacco, a narcotic unknown before the sixteenth century, was soon largely used in England, and indeed the whole world, and its cultivation greatly extended.

It is to this period that the sister-kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland trace the beginning of their national industries.

James I., by uniting the kingdom of Scotland with that of England, benefited the industries of his native country, which shared at length in the privileges of English commerce. Scotch ports took part in the northern whale-fisheries, and sent their merchantmen to the Baltic and Spain. Cattle-rearing became an important Scotch occupation. Coal, salt, and iron were rendered more available, and the looms shared in the activity stimulated by the demand for British textures.

There was an advance seen even in Ireland. Linen became the national manufacture, and yarn, wool, and woollen cloths, provisions, butter, and grain, were exported in large quantities. Ulster was invigorated when the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, made it a refuge for French weavers, through whom Irish linen from home-grown flax attained a world-wide renown for its beauty.

English manufactures showed a marked improvement from the teaching of these French exiles. Tissues of silk, wool, and linen soon attained to high perfection. France continued to excel in dyeing, but the efforts of England, together with its greater commercial facilities, made the English trade the most valuable. Glass, paper, and hardware also improved in quality and value. Thus far French goods had been imported, and the annual trade in them amounted directly and indirectly to more than two millions sterling. Such a fact showed how much these commodities were desired by the English. The government reasoned differently, and in 1676 thought to do the country a benefit

by prohibiting the trade. Our hospitality to the refugees counterbalanced the folly and shortsightedness of our rulers, and so improved our manufactures as to cause the foreign demand to be very brisk through the last two decades of the century.

England guarded herself by stringent laws against any advantage being taken by foreigners, but a similar policy, when adopted by Spain, was held to be ample justification for a traffic almost exclusively contraband. Portugal exchanged port wine and Brazilian gold for our manufactured goods.

During each period of war since the Revolution, England has gained some possessions which have led to an extension of her commerce. Every colony wrested from the foe was a new customer for English goods. From the preponderance of the English marine, privateering was a source of vast profits while the war endured; the more so as England would permit no neutral flag to cover an enemy's goods upon the seas. Every ship "not with us was against us," a principle that left other nations but little choice, and compelled them, by physical force, to employ British ships in international commerce. Before the century ended, England had risen superior to all her rivals. Even the Dutch, who in 1700 had more ships than the English, were surpassed in all branches of trade, except the herring and whale-fisheries. So early as 1729 the preponderance of British trade was seen in the quantities of iron and wood used for ship-building. Of 19,000 ship pounds\* of iron exported from Gothenburg, 12,000 pounds were consigned to England.

Two periods of war were in particular favourable to British commerce: the War of the Spanish Succession, from 1702 to 1713, which ended in the peace of Utrecht, and the Seven Years' War, from 1756 to 1763, terminated by

\* Ship pounds—a commercial weight of 400 lbs. *avoirdupois*, in use in Sweden and Russia.

the peace of Paris. It was the policy of England to obtain from her colonies every possible commodity not raised at home. Premiums were paid upon colonial produce—as, for example, upon madder—in order to force a supply from our own possessions which might have been produced cheaper and better elsewhere. Among the chief English imports were southern fruits, wines, oils, silks, pitch, tar, wood, silk, cotton, flax, and hemp. Our efforts to transfer the production of these commodities to our colonies met with many failures and a few successes.

For these raw substances were exchanged manufactured articles and native produce. English manufactures forced their way into universal use, less by legislation than by their genuine quality. A British trade-mark was accepted as a guarantee of excellence, while the products of other countries were viewed with a suspicion justified by experience of their comparative inferiority. The knowledge that no inferior goods would be exported from England gave her wares a higher value, and caused them to be in demand even where English legislation most injured and irritated the people. Germany obtained English goods through Holland. England resented the copying of her restrictive policy by any other country; and deprived herself of French wines and brandies in order to punish France for doing the like with respect to English goods. Rum took the place of brandy in the national consumption, and the strong-bodied wines of Portugal replaced the light beverages of France.

During the American War of Independence our commerce suffered from the privateers which infested every sea. Letters of marque were granted, not only by the belligerent states, but subsequently by France and Holland. Many merchantmen were made prizes. England, contrary to her own principles, was obliged to employ neutral vessels as carriers, by means of which a good trade was often pursued, even with the enemy. War quickened the intelligence of

England. Events which seemed to destroy her resources, and to bar the outlets of commerce, made her merchants divert the course of trade rather than lose it altogether. Ship-building was imperilled by the closing of the American ports, from 1774 to 1783, but it caused the forests of the Baltic to be utilised, and gave an impetus to the trade with those regions. Coal and iron, worked to a prodigious extent, taxed the genius of the nation for new industrial appliances, and produced an age of invention.

Birmingham and Sheffield date the development of their vast hardware and cutlery trade from the invention of the puddling-furnace by Cort in 1783, whereby wrought iron was produced by the aid of the coal found in close proximity both to the ore and the limestone which is used as a flux. This furnace has so economised the manufacture of iron, that millions of tons are now produced from what was once valueless ore.

To the last half of the century we owe an industrial revolution mightier and more permanent in its results than the contemporary throes of rebellion in France. The elements at work were the steam-engine, the spinning jenny, the mule, the power-loom, and the blast-furnace. Watt has for ever associated his name with the steam-engine, as Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright have with the perfecting of cotton-machinery. Steam-power applied to manufactures gave a new history to cotton. At first the manufacture had to struggle against prejudices and a false patriotism that thought it un-English to wear foreign fabrics. Linen shirts and sheets were used long after cotton had been proved better for warmth, comfort, and health. Legislative penalties were imposed upon cotton without avail. When our American colonies proved so well adapted for its cultivation, and sent us ever-increasing supplies, the growth of the manufacture necessarily followed. Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow attained great importance, the first for its factories, and the last two for

the magnitude of their commerce. In the half century from 1750, Liverpool ascended from the rank of a poor fishing-village to the dignity of a leading town of the British empire. Raw cotton was its chief import, and in its manufactured state the chief export of the town. Such wealth accrued from the fabrication of cotton, that instead of destroying the woollen and linen industries it gave them new life, through the increased capital brought to bear upon them, and the greater means of purchase enjoyed by the people. The manufacture of silk was similarly promoted.

The profits of manufacture and trade influenced husbandry. Agriculture and cattle-rearing improved and extended, in answer to the larger demand for animal food. High farming, upon scientific principles, was introduced, and England produced corn for export as well as for home-consumption. State finance, in the reign of William III., assumed new features, which had much to do with the subsequent growth of national wealth. Wars, though frequent, had been discouraged by the nobles before the Revolution, because the expense fell upon the land. Customs and excise, which were previously adopted only under the fallacious belief that they were a protection to British industry, changed their character, and were imposed as sources of revenue, in order to meet the new and enlarged costs of government. The change of conviction on this point is remarkable. Protection to native industry was the sole purpose of customs duties till the time of William III., when customs as a source of revenue were imposed in lieu of the ancient land tax. The expenses of the great European war, in which William took the lead against France, fell on all classes alike. Loans came into fashion. Macaulay judiciously observes, that it was not the system of borrowing, but the system of honestly paying, that was introduced by the Revolution. Government loans were funded, and a new business in buying and

selling stocks arose, with which was united that of dealing in the shares of commercial companies. The facility with which money was raised on the security of the government may be gathered from the statement of the growth of the national debt:—

In 1697 the National Debt amounted to	.	£21,000,000
„ 1713	„	53,000,000
„ 1748	„	78,000,000
„ 1763	„	122,000,000

A good deal of this capital was lent by the Dutch. Despite these enormous sums sunk in war, the annual revenue of the kingdom increased rapidly, or the burden would have been heavier to bear:—

In 1709 the Revenue amounted to	.	£5,691,803
„ 1727	„	6,762,643
„ 1775	„	10,200,000

The market for dealing in government and other securities was held in the city of London, under the name of the Stock Exchange. As the price which buyers were willing to give for public securities was high or low, in proportion to the confidence in the national stability, the fluctuations of the Stock Exchange served, and have continued to serve, as an index or gauge, of the most sensitive nature, of political and commercial prosperity.

Another feature of this period was the establishment of the Bank of England, in 1694, by Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The scheme was originated by William Paterson, a Scotchman. Wealth even then had become so great, and the operations of trade so involved, that the goldsmiths could not undertake the enlarged banking operations which commerce rendered necessary. The Bank of England was successful from the first. Its charter passed parliament under cover of a scheme to raise a sum of £1,200,000 for the service of the crown, upon the guarantee of the tonnage dues, at 8 per cent.—easy terms



for the times. A considerable period was allowed for the subscriptions to come in, for £40,000,000 at 4 per cent. could as easily be raised now as £1,000,000 at 8 per cent. then. To every one's surprise, and to the delight of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the whole sum was contributed before the first instalment was due. The capital was quadrupled early in the eighteenth century, and then again doubled before 1750. From small beginnings it has expanded, under wise and careful direction, into the greatest banking establishment that has ever existed.

Besides the ordinary business of discount, the Bank of England keeps an open account with the Treasury, as with any other customer; and serves as a reservoir for floating loans in cases of emergency. Grocers' Hall was the original scene of its operations, which were conducted by a staff of fifty-four officials. The bank now covers the area of a city parish, and gives employment to one thousand persons. As a set off against its privileges, the bank is required to undertake the management of the National Debt and to pay the dividends, functions which form quite a distinct part of its business. Banking as a practice became universal soon after the great national bank was started. Men who could inspire confidence by their character and wealth became bankers, and found the pursuit so lucrative as to enable them to take rank with the most eminent of our merchant-princes. The small streams flowing into their coffers, of little use separately, accumulated into reservoirs of capital that fertilised the whole field of trade. A state bank had existed in Venice from the thirteenth century; almost as old was the Bank of St. George at Genoa, and a bank was founded at Amsterdam in 1607. Three of the most ancient of the private banks of London continue to carry on their business—Child's, founded in 1663; Hoare's in 1680; and Snow's in 1685.

One notable example of ill-founded confidence, the Great South-Sea Bubble, makes the year 1720 memorable. The

desire to grow rich at a stroke had, just as in the instances of the Mississippi Scheme in France and the Tulipomania in Holland, seized men's minds. The shares of the East India Company were at a high premium, and the Bank of England promised wonders. Why not make a fortune in shares? John Blount, director of an insolvent company trading to the South Seas, from which not a penny of dividend had been declared for ten years, persuaded an over-eager ministry that he could wipe off the National Debt if letters patent were granted to his company for exclusive rights to all the rich gold mines, not yet discovered, in the countries of the South Seas, and to all the teeming fisheries which might exist there. Parliament freely made over to the company boundless territories not its own to give, and prospects of wealth as unlimited as they were unknown. Spain and Portugal, to whom belonged the countries so freely granted, declined to accede to the arrangement, and shut the company out of the South Seas; but this fact was concealed by the directors. The premium went higher and higher, till the value of the stock rose above 1,000 per cent. Wild schemes which public delirium alone could accept were set afloat. Princes and footmen, ladies of title and their scullions, embarked all their means in the confident assurance of making a fortune. Shrewd bankers accepted securities which in their sober senses they would not have deigned to handle. More than two hundred companies, representing £500,000,000 worth of stock, have been enumerated as the fruit of this universal gambling. This enormous capital was more than all the gold and silver in the world, and exceeded several times the value of the landed property in England. With the bursting of the gigantic bubble, all its glittering colours were dissipated into thin air. Bankers and goldsmiths failed, and dragged down thousands with them. Many families were reduced from opulence to beggary, and many others left England with sobered minds and broken

hearts. A few of the promoters were punished and compelled to disgorge their plunder. Some speculators, satisfied with their own gains or foreseeing the crisis, had retired soon enough to keep their riches. It was for a century a severe but efficient cure of reckless cupidity.

## CHAPTER XI.

### RUSSIA.

*Commerce of Russia.*—Russia owes its rank as a mercantile power not to the full development of its natural resources, but to the boundless area over which they are spread. Russian commerce is of the most recent growth. The Hanse, in 1532, established a factory at Narva; but met with competitors in the English and Dutch. Chancellor's voyage to the White Sea, in 1553, opened a communication between England and Russia, which was much encouraged by the Czar, Ivan the Terrible. In 1584, Archangel was founded, and, until the foundation of St. Petersburg, was the first and only commercial port of the empire trading with England. Trade was fostered by freedom of interchange, an equable import duty of 5 per cent. levied on goods, clearing them from all further charges. Exports of equivalent value to the imports were allowed to pass duty free. Such commercial liberality suited the genius of the Dutch, who soon gained a footing at Archangel, and competed with the English. The trade was wholly of the nature of barter, Russian raw produce being exchanged for manufactured fabrics. The English more than the Dutch penetrated the country in search of commodities. They visited the market of Moscow, and traversed the plains till they reached Persia, whence they obtained raw silk. Commerce conducted with such energy thrived, and although as yet wholly in the hands of foreigners, the prosperity of the country rose to a considerable height. Ivan the Terrible was a prototype of Peter the Great, both in his strong passions and his

patriotic spirit. He extended the empire into Asia, entered into diplomatic relations with the courts of Europe, improved the coinage, and endeavoured to stimulate handicraft by the introduction of German workmen amongst his subjects. He established the first regular army in Russia, brought gunpowder into use, promoted trade and navigation by ensuring security to traders, and encouraged traffic with Poland and Scandinavia.

Michael Romanoff, the first of the present line of Czars, gave a new character to Russian history. By the negotiation of commercial treaties during his reign from 1613 to 1645, with England in 1623, and France in 1629, he gave his empire a status among civilised nations. Alexis, his son, instituted a department of trade, and promulgated, in 1654 and 1657, ordinances for regulating customs dues. He defined and restricted the privileges of the English, and, by codifying the Russian laws, gave a settled character to its jurisprudence. Industry was encouraged by the erection of factories, and the working of mines was superintended by Germans and Scotchmen. Agriculture was extended by cultivating the steppes of the Volga and the Kama.

Peter the Great had thus examples which inspired him with the high resolves which he carried out at a later period. He had listened to the foreign merchants in Moscow describing the phenomena of industrial life in their native countries, and the prevalence of comforts and luxuries of which even the nobles of Russia had no conception. Twice he had seen at Archangel ships whose wonderful architecture, in his admiring eyes, was only equalled by their wonderful cargoes. His journey to Holland and England, in 1697, undertaken with a view to enlarge his knowledge, and particularly to acquire the art of ship-building; his labouring in the dockyards of both countries as a journeyman, are familiar and well-authenticated facts. Returning after an absence of two years, he brought with him a body of artisans and engineers, by whose means he improved handicraft, increased

the produce of the Siberian mines, built ships—not one vessel being owned by the Russians before his time—and weaned his country from its helpless dependence upon foreigners. The foundation of St. Petersburg, in 1703, was his proudest project, and he granted this great capital so many mercantile privileges that commerce was very soon attracted to the favoured spot. Before ten years had passed, St. Petersburg enjoyed a large and flourishing trade, and in a future reign Archangel was put on an equality with the Russian capital. The Czar, in a war with Sweden, obtained possession of Riga, another Baltic port, and, by treaty with Turkey, Azof also was ceded to him, thus giving him what he had long desired, a port on the Black Sea; an advantage, however, which he soon lost. His ambition was to construct a fleet, and ere long Russian ships floated on the White and Baltic Seas, on the Euxine and the Caspian. He devised a great scheme of canals to connect these seas, a plan since completely carried out.

Peter the Great extended his inland connections even to China, with which country he created a lucrative intercourse. He ruled over Russia from 1682 to 1725, a period of forty-three years. Though during a considerable part of this time he was engaged in war, yet in addition to what has been already recounted he found time to establish schools and hospitals, start printing-presses, and foster manufactures. As the result of his genius and indomitable will, a grand commercial city arose on the banks of the Neva, a navy and a mercantile marine floated on the Baltic, harbours were turned to account wherever the frontiers extended to an open sea, and Russia was raised from a condition of semi-barbarism to a political level with the great European powers. Catherine, the widow of Peter, during a short reign of two years (1725—1727) pursued, with religious devotion, the policy of her husband. She carried out the construction of canals, despatched ships on voyages of discovery to the polar regions, both of Asia and America,

maintained a fleet in the Black Sea corresponding with that in the Baltic, and re-established the ancient trade routes.

The immediate successors of Peter and his consort did little to further the policy of their great predecessor. Nevertheless, the institutions he founded and the principles he inaugurated contained in themselves the germs of growth. Every year the demand from England, France, Spain, and Holland for the raw produce of Russia increased. As yet, Russia had but few ships compared with her maritime neighbours, and laboured under the disadvantage of possessing but a small extent of coast available for commerce. This latter physical circumstance, indeed, forbids Russia from ever becoming a commercial country similar to Great Britain. Russian vessels were manned and officered by foreigners or by natives who had no taste for the dangers of the sea. The commerce was, therefore, still mainly in the hands of the English, who took their home and colonial produce to Russia. Holland shared in the Russian trade, as intermediary between Russia, France, and Spain.

Catherine II., 1762 to 1796, gave to Russian polity that aggressive trait which has been distinctive of it ever since. Aggrandisement was her ruling passion. She would have Russia comprise the world, or be second to no empire in extent of territory, and the Russians foremost in point of wealth. Industry was promoted, but only as subsidiary to war. German artificers were induced to settle in the empire, and the manufacture of textile fabrics of linen, silks, and wool was encouraged. Potash and sugar, with many other products, were prepared, and that to so great an amount that much of the produce, together with iron and glass, reached even the distant regions of North America.

Catherine, in 1774, regained the harbours of the Black Sea, declared them free ports, and offered many advantages to induce merchants to trade there. The intercourse already existing between Cherson and Constantinople was

now extended into the Mediterranean, and a commercial traffic was opened, especially with Spain and Italy. War broke out in 1787, and the Hellespont was closed to Russian ships; thus this promising intercommunication ceased for a time.

*Poland.*—Poland, an independent nation until the latter part of the eighteenth century, possessed considerable commerce, resembling in its character that of Russia. For two centuries it was the chief corn-producer of Europe, much of the country consisting of that same rich, black, fertile soil which is found in large districts of Russia. Timber was the export next in importance to corn; dye-plants, flax, and hemp from the vegetable kingdom; wax, honey, hides, and wool from the animal kingdom, with talc to represent the mineral produce, were all important constituents of trade. These raw substances were sent to the ports of Riga and Dantzic, and, for the supply of South-Western Europe, to those of the Black Sea. Debarred from a direct share in maritime industry by its inland position, Poland entrusted chiefly to the Dutch the sea transport from the Baltic.

*Courland and its Colonies.*—The history of Courland, until 1795, when it became a province of Russia, is full of complications. Originally it was a dukedom under the German Empire; but, inasmuch as it was conquered by the knights of the Teutonic Order, the Pope was in some sense a concurrent suzerain. The Reformation made it a Protestant country under the dukes of the Kettler family; who held it as a Polish fief. The connection, however, was a loose one; the Polish element in Courland being too unimportant. The peasants were Letts of the Lithuanian family, while the owners of the soil were Germans. When the line of Kettler died out, the Poles attempted to incorporate the duchy as an integral part of their kingdom. This being opposed both openly and by the underhand intrigues of Russia, a long period of uncertainty ensued. There was the original understanding that the Duchy should be incor-



porated with Poland, but this the chief statesmen of Courland repudiated. Then there was the nomination of a duke by Poland, in which Russia refused to concur. There was the occupation of Courland by Russian troops, and there were intermarriages between the dukes and the royal family of Russia. The end was, that a mere personal favourite of the Empress Anne, the notorious Biren, was made duke. Nominated by Russia, he consented to go through certain formalities of investment at Warsaw. He afterwards fell into disgrace as a favourite, and though Duke of Courland, was banished to Siberia. Then he was recalled, and later they set up an anti-duke. Russia settled the matter finally by making Courland a Russian province in 1795. Miserable as was the condition of this country under the last dukes of the Kettler family, its commercial history under its earlier rulers indicates a spirit of adventure which, exhibited as it was when the country was scarcely known to the rest of Europe, commands our admiration. Duke James I. of Courland maintained for several years stations upon the river Gambia and Fort St. Andreas on the Ivory Coast. By James I. of England he was presented with the island of Tobago. This island had belonged successively to the English and the Dutch. By the Dutch it was called New Walcheren. An attack of the natives caused the loss of two hundred of the Dutch colonists. The settlement was thereby so much weakened that the Spaniards from Trinidad were able to drive out the remaining colonists. About one hundred Courlanders now established themselves upon the island, built a fortress for its defence, and founded the town of Jacobstadt. To secure themselves still more from the hostility of the Dutch, who viewed them with suspicion and tried to drive them away, they formed an alliance with Oliver Cromwell and with Louis XIV. Notwithstanding these alliances, the Dutch in 1654, under Adrian and Cornelius Lamprens, two merchants of Zealand, seized upon part of the colony; and

four years later, taking advantage of the imprisonment of Duke James by the Swedes, took possession of the whole island. The colony was restored to the duke by the aid of the English, to whom the island became a place of commercial resort. This miniature colonial empire of Courland ended with the death of the duke, to whom it owed its existence and maintenance for a generation.

*Livonia and Esthonia.*—Western Livonia and Esthonia, like Courland during the time of its original paganism and barbarity, were occupied by the Letts; the more remote population on the east being of the Finnish stock. Both Livonia, however, and Esthonia were conquered and converted by the knights of the Teutonic Order, thus making the dominant population German. The early history, however, of both provinces is obscure, and the later a mere chronicle of battles and sieges and misery. From the reign of Gustavus Vasa to the death of Charles XII., the whole country, from the Gulf of Finland to the frontier of Courland, was little more than a battle-field for the Swedes and Russians, the latter taking possession of Livonia and Esthonia by the peace of Nystadt, A.D. 1721.

## CHAPTER XII.

### SCANDINAVIA.

#### *I.—NORWAY AND SWEDEN.*

WHEN the commercial power of the Hanse, by which the early trade of this peninsula was wholly conducted, decayed, the Dutch, and afterwards the English, filled their place, and the yearly business perceptibly increased. Bergen, the ancient factory of the Hanseatic League, retained its prestige, and did not indeed decline until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the union of Calmar to the reign of Gustavus Vasa, the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were under one king; but, towards the latter part of this period, the tyranny of Denmark became insupportable in Sweden. Then the great event of the liberation of that country was effected by Gustavus, the first and, in some respects, the greatest of the Vasas. No liberation was effected for Norway, which country, though an integral part of the peninsula, continued to belong to Denmark, and its commerce became independent of that of Sweden. It carried on a trade with Iceland and Finland, of which the Copenhagen merchants obtained the control. Norwegian commerce was of the simplest character, the natural resources of the country being few in number, but abundant in quantity. Timber was the chief export, the trade in which steadily increased. Iron was exported, though to a less extent than from Sweden. The fisheries were of ever-increasing value, especially off the Lofoden Isles, to which fishermen from all parts resorted.

Sweden owes to Gustavus Vasa and Charles IX. the commercial impulse which it received in the modern period of its history. In order to stimulate the industry of the Swedes, Gustavus Vasa decreed that none but manufactured iron should be sent out of the country. A wiser policy induced Charles IX. to invite skilled labourers to settle in Sweden, and to teach their handicrafts to his subjects. In 1561 Esthonia was added to the kingdom, and the trade of Sweden materially increased.

Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of the Thirty Years' War, who reigned from 1611 to 1632, stimulated the commercial activity of the country by the reduction of Livonia and by other extensions of territory, as the result of his successful campaigns against Russia and Poland. His continuous foreign wars promoted the growth of a navy, which, by making Swedish power respected at sea, protected and therefore improved its commerce. Under the able chancellorship of Oxenstiern, the flag of Sweden was supreme in the Baltic. A company for trading to the South Seas was founded in 1616, settlements were made in North America, which, however, had to be given up to the English in 1650, and trade relations were also entered into with other countries. Domestic industry was extended. Dutch capital was borrowed to work the mines and for other industrial purposes. During this reign Sweden was the most powerful of the northern kingdoms, its territories exceeding those of France. Charles XI., who reigned from 1660 to 1697, was an able ruler. By him the finances of the country were improved; a bank was erected, duties were imposed upon cloth and silk coming from abroad, in order to encourage home manufacture, and internal traffic was facilitated. He left the country strong in resources and wealth, and defended by a well-disciplined army; but his son, Charles XII., "the Madman of the North," by his reckless wars, the sole object of his ambition, put a stop to material progress. He drew his soldiers from the plough and the loom,

and while thus sapping the foundations of wealth, his ruinous expenditure completed the exhaustion of the country. Money became so scarce that copper took the place of gold and silver. Issues of paper money were made, which, while industry suffered and commerce decayed, fell in value,—a sure indication of the loss of government credit. In the year of his death (1718), his country had sunk into a state of decay as low as its prosperity under his father had been high.

Sweden recovered by slow degrees. Linnæus turned the minds of his countrymen to science, and agriculture began to improve. It was not, however, until the reign of Gustavus III., beginning in 1771, that its former prosperity was restored. Taking advantage of its neutrality during the American war, Sweden got into its hands a large part of the trade of the European hostile states. In the Mediterranean the Swedes almost entirely superseded the Dutch. They carried on trade also with the East Indies and China, from which last country they brought tea to smuggle into England. In the West Indies, the possession of the island of St. Bartholomew, which they obtained in 1784, gave them facilities for an active trade. The subsequent history of Sweden reflected the wayward policy of its rulers. Declining trade and disordered finances were the results of the war with Russia in 1789. The wars of the French Revolution afforded another opportunity for neutral commerce to the benefit of Sweden. The United States, which had by this time grown into a great maritime power, now divided with the Swedes the neutral trade. More iron, however, was demanded by England, and this called forth a compensatory increase of imports.

## II.—DENMARK.

THE kingdom of Denmark consists of an alluvial peninsula, peculiar in trending northward, the opposite direction to that of almost all other peninsulas and of several

large contiguous islands, which block the entrance to the Baltic sea. During the modern period, Denmark extended through five degrees of latitude, from  $53^{\circ}$  to  $58^{\circ}$  N., and from  $8^{\circ}$  to  $13^{\circ}$  E. longitude. The country forms a part of the great plain of Europe. Excepting in the south and in the larger islands, the surface is scarcely diversified by a hill, and much of the west coast is artificially embanked against the irruptions of the sea, miles of sand-dunes elsewhere performing the same office. Although the peninsula in its widest part is one hundred miles broad, yet the coast is so indented, especially by the large inlet called the Lym Fiord, that no part is more than thirty-five miles from the sea. The soil of Jutland is generally poor, being composed of sand and clay. A great portion is waste land, especially a broad central strip running north and south, and the sands and marshes bordering the German Ocean. Lakes of small dimensions, but extremely numerous, are significant of a low-lying country and humid climate, the result of continuous vapours, which are but partially dispersed even in summer. Autumn is the only settled season, the winter being characterized by incessant snow and rain, and the spring by an alternation of rain, frost, and storms. The land, notwithstanding, seldom suffers from an excessive temperature ; and although at intervals the Sound has been made a highway to Sweden by a thick coating of ice, for its latitude the climate may be called mild.

Denmark was so excellently situated for commerce that its foreign trade was extensive in proportion to its scanty natural resources. Of mineral produce there is scarcely any. A good deal of pottery was made, and a few foundries existed in Holstein. There is no coal, but an inexhaustible supply of peat made this want less felt. Marble and building stone were quarried in Bornholm, an island near to, and partaking of, the physical features of Sweden. It was from the vegetable and animal kingdom that Denmark drew the

chief part of its wealth. Although a fourth of the surface was covered either with brambles or marsh, other parts, especially in Holstein, were very fertile. Great crops of rye and oats were grown for export. Potatoes thrived, and rape was cultivated extensively. Forests once darkened the whole country, but were reduced to very few of small size, and Denmark was nearly treeless, and imported timber. The grazing and dairy-farms were the chief reliance of the husbandman. Green pastures fattened beeves and sheep, either for export or home consumption, and hides, skins, and wool expanded the list of exports. Hung-beef from Holstein, of high repute, and salted provisions, both beef and pork, were largely exported, as well as dairy produce of every kind, with tallow, lard, and corn-brandy. Danish horses were sought after for their strength and vigour, as well as the spotted carriage or Danish dog, of a breed peculiar to the country. The fauna has changed its character with the loss of forests, wild beasts having disappeared. Game and wild fowl still abounded, and possessed economic value, both as food and for their feathers. Domestic poultry was a source of great profit. The Danes prosecuted their fisheries with zeal and success. The western shores furnished oyster-beds, and the Cattegat abounded with lobsters.

The Danes proper are of Teutonic origin, the Jutes and North Schleswigers belonging to the Scandinavian branch, the inhabitants of South Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to the German branch of that great family.

The Danish dominions were enlarged, but hardly enriched, by the possession of Greenland, Iceland, and the Farøes. A few islands in the West Indies, various settlements on the African coast, and one or two small stations in India, also belonged to the Danes.

Great vicissitudes of fortune have attended the Danish monarchy. At one time the whole of Scandinavia, besides large German provinces and islands of the Baltic, owned its rule. Sweden was subdued in 1397, but recovered her

independence, after many contests, in 1523. Political changes have given a variable history to the development of the industry and commerce of Denmark. Love of the sea has descended to the Danish race from the ancient Vikings. Commercial intercourse with foreign nations has therefore always been considerable, and sometimes very great. Before the fall of the Hanseatic League, this commerce might perhaps be fairly called piracy; for domestic oppressions and broils between the king and his nobility prevented industry from flourishing, and drove swarms of the people to pursue a lawless life at sea. Christian IV. (1588—1648) tried to give a legitimate course to national enterprise, and though diverted from his plans by his wars with Sweden and with the German Empire, he succeeded in establishing a regular traffic with Iceland and Greenland, and in a first attempt at trade with the East Indies. Frederick III. pursued this policy still further, and enlarged the area of Danish commerce. Altona owes its foundation to this king, who also initiated a trade with South America. Christian V. increased the wealth of the country by attention to its natural resources and manufactures. Corn, rapeseed, horses, oxen, butter, and cheese were exported, and the provinces of Jutland and Holstein especially were enriched by a flourishing agriculture. French exiles here, as in other countries, repaid the shelter afforded them by improving the weaving of textile fabrics. The number of colonies was also increased. St. John and St. Thomas, in the West Indies, were settled, the first being transferred by the English in 1671, and the latter occupied in 1719. In 1733, Santa Cruz was purchased from France for 738,000 livres, and a considerable trade sprung up, much of it, however, being contraband. A neutral carrying trade was developed during the American War, which brought great profit to Denmark. Sugar from the West Indies, tea, cotton, and silk from China and the East Indies, were brought in Danish instead of Dutch ships for the supply of



Germany and other parts of Europe. Native horses were sent to France, and grain and timber to England. All the towns of Denmark were rendered more prosperous by this traffic. A taste for luxury was developed, and the energies of the people were still further directed towards foreign trade.

Peace brought an immediate change. The East and West Indian trade largely reverted to their former possessors. Nevertheless, a share of the lucrative branches of commerce was retained, while that with France remained unaffected. When the French Revolution broke out, and particularly when Holland was occupied by the French, the Danes by their neutral trade reached unprecedented prosperity. Their fleet was powerful for war and numerous for trade. In resisting the right of search which England claimed, Denmark brought upon herself the hostility of that country, and lost her colonies and most of her marine. At a later date a new fleet was built, and the colonies were restored by treaty. To prevent the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of Napoleon, England demanded its surrender, and on the refusal of Denmark to comply with this demand, an English force appeared before Copenhagen for a second time, and compelled the Danes to submit.

*Colonies of Denmark.*—In addition to the colonies already named, the Danes found a field of enterprise in Africa, on the west coast of which continent they planted factories; and in Asia, where they obtained possession of Tranquebar, Serampore, and some of the Nicobar isles. A West India Company first monopolised the commerce with America, but managed so badly that the state bought up the company's privileges for 9,900,000 livres, and threw the trade open.

The Guinea settlements were not always prosperous. Four forts—Christiansburg, Fredericksburg, Königstein, and Prinsenstein—defended fifty miles of coast, whence gold, ivory, and slaves were exported. Never of much value, the

African trade died out when, in 1792, a short term of eleven years was allowed for the extinction of the slave-trade, the most profitable branch of the business.

The Danish East India Company was formed on the representations of Boschooer, a Dutch factor. This remarkable man had ingratiated himself with the King of Ceylon, in whose service he had risen to the rank of Admiral and President of the Council. Boschooer concluded a treaty of commerce with the king in favour of his native country, but the coolness with which his overtures were received by his fellow-countrymen in Ceylon induced him to visit Denmark, where a fleet of eighteen vessels was fitted out and placed at his disposal. His death on the return voyage interfered with the success of the enterprise ; nevertheless Tranquebar was ceded to the Danes for a rent of 2,000 pagodas a year. The Danish East India Company, unable to compete with the jealous monopoly of the Dutch in the Indian marts, surrendered their rights and privileges to the state, and after 1643 Danish ships ceased to visit Tranquebar. In 1669 the colony fell to pieces for want of support. It was successfully reinstated in 1731, and for many years held exclusive possession of the traffic from Cape Colony across to China. In 1771 the state purchased the then prosperous colony for 170,000 rix-dollars.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GERMANY.

THE commerce of Germany was bound up with that of the Hanseatic League, and suffered with the decline of that great confederacy. When the Dutch and the English began to take an active share in trade, the League lost its best customers. The Spaniards made an effort to restore the trade of the Hanse, not out of any regard for the League, but through hatred of the English and Dutch. No political combination, however, could prevent the sea from being the highway of commerce, and England from receiving the full advantage of her favourable maritime position. Hamburg and Bremen, two of the first trading ports to join the League, were the last to be affected by its decay. They could not fail to possess large commerce, for, commanding the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, they were the outlets of German produce and the inlets of foreign commodities.

Many vessels belonging to these ports traded between Norway, England, the Netherlands, and France. With the transfer of trade from Italy to Portugal, the South German towns diminished in wealth. The rich houses of Augsburg and Nürnberg continued for some years their efforts to draw a share of the Portuguese commerce into Germany by way of Italy, but were in the end compelled to forego dealings in merchandise, and to confine themselves chiefly to the business of money-dealers. Erfurt and Brunswick were equally injured. The foreign commerce of Cologne sank into insignificance, and Aix-la-Chapelle was deserted by many of its citizens. Special local circumstances in some towns retarded or prevented decay. The great fairs of Leipsic

and Frankfort, for example, continued to render those towns prosperous. Elberfeld actually increased in consequence of the arrival of Protestant refugees from France, who erected factories and by their skill added to the industries of the town. Much German produce, which once found an outlet at Genoa and Venice, or down the Danube, now left the country by the northern ports. Van Arnim, a far-sighted Brandenburg nobleman, in 1554, brought into Saxony skilled labourers of every kind to work the mines, improve the husbandry and vine-dressing, and fabricate linen and woollen cloth. In addition to these operatives, many Flemish traders and artificers expelled from Ghent and Bruges were welcomed. The result was that Saxony flourished while surrounded by states whose prosperity had sunk to the lowest condition. German linen was much sought after. The Dutch bought up in an unfinished state all that Silesia could manufacture, and took it to Holland to bleach. Increased exports of linen to Holland followed quickly upon the diminished trade of Soest, Dortmund, and Osnabrück. Germany could compete with most countries in linen fabrics, its soil being more suitable for the growth of flax than that of the north and north-east of Europe. Ready markets were found for German linens in the Netherlands and England. Cotton cloth was still made in South Germany; but the finest varieties were superseded by French and Flemish fabrics. Hardware manufactures employed the inhabitants of Westphalia, especially in the town of Iserlohn.

The century and a half succeeding the Spanish discoveries witnessed the rise and growth of a taste for splendour, which reached its zenith in the reign of Charles V. His sumptuous court led the fashion in living and costume, not only in Spain but in Germany. From the princes and nobility down to the burghers, luxuries in food, dress, and furniture were indulged in. Even the northern states, where primitive manners remained longest, became at last leavened like the rest with a love for display.

At the end of this period the Thirty Years' War had produced a very different condition of things. Germany had been ravaged with fire and sword. With the slaughter of her inhabitants and the destruction of their homes, the peaceful pursuits of industry were ruined. Fields lay untilled, and sheep and cattle gave place to vermin and wild animals. Manufactures had dwindled almost to nothing. Their famous woollen manufacture and their breweries were, in the course of a generation, as far behind those of their neighbours as once they were ahead. Commerce was almost extinguished, and instead of a surplus remaining for exchange, the produce of the country barely sufficed for the wants of the people. The balance of trade ran against Germany for many years. A navy and a mercantile fleet being impossible, foreign trade was of necessity indirect, and was affected by every contention among the maritime powers. With Spain alone the export trade of Germany exceeded the import trade. In Portugal, German goods were undersold by English dealers. Commodities received from Holland and France were of so much greater value than the German produce given in exchange, that the coin sent out of Germany yearly was very considerable. As an example, French produce to the value of fourteen million florins was received in 1720 against nine millions' worth of German produce exported. Alike in character, though less in extent, was the commercial intercourse of Germany with Great Britain and Russia. The ancient Levant commerce shrank into trivial importance. Only by the subsidies of England and France could the German princes carry on the war in which they became involved. From 1750 to 1772 France advanced to them 137,000,000 livres, thus, chiefly, distributed,—Austria, 82,000,000; Saxony, 9,000,000; Wurteniburg, 7,000,000; Cologne, 7,000,000; the Palatinate, 11,000,000; Bavaria, 9,000,000. While the Seven Years' War lasted England spent in subsidising the German princes, apart from her own share of

the costs of the war, the sum of £21,000,000. We cannot well conceive a worse fate befalling Germany, despite these vast payments, than the disastrous results which ensued from these wars.

Germany was less benefited than Holland and England by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; although many skilful exiles settled in the different capitals and established new industries. These, however, were mostly luxuries, such as tissues of gold and silver, and silk, together with glass and porcelain wares, while the inhabitants were in actual need of necessaries. It was therefore at the courts of princes that these artisans looked for patrons, and there indeed they often resided. The raw materials employed were of foreign production and costly, such as fine wool, indigo, and logwood. The cost of production was enhanced by the difficulties of transport, the roads being few and bad. From these causes the centres of German manufactures, with the slow revival of prosperity, came successively nearer the sea. Here again the struggle was a losing one against the competition of England and France, whose Navigation Acts closed not only their own ports, but also those of their colonies against German commerce. Linen was almost the only product that found a market abroad, the other manufactures being wholly consumed in the country itself.

It was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that indications of improvement appeared. War had injured the character and manners of the nobles and landowners. Life in camp and court had rendered them negligent of their estates, which were left to the management of stewards, whose rapacity did not always stop short of fraud. Signs of a new industrial life were seen first in North Germany and Saxony. Horses were bred in such numbers that it began to be possible to export some; and the Saxony fleece, by judicious crossings of breeds of sheep, surpassed in fineness and value the wool of Spain and England. South-

west Germany began to recover its trade. Swabia sent its linen to France and the Low Countries, and in smaller quantities to Italy. From the same region, and from Franconia, cattle were exported to France, and timber in large quantities to Holland.

Many extensive districts of South-east Germany were not yet cultivated, even where the soil was most fertile. Monastic lands shared in the common neglect, and yielded a scanty produce. There were glass, metal, steel and iron works in Vienna, and Hungary was rich in natural resources, though the region laboured under many disadvantages. It was far from the great commercial marts, money was very scarce, and the navigation of the Elbe, the outlet to the North, was obstructed by tolls.

Brandenburg and the Prussian provinces suffered severely from the devastations of war. Frederic William and Frederic I. repaired, in some measure, the neglect of husbandry which had diminished the flocks, and had compelled the weavers to remove to Saxony. They built cloth factories, invited weavers from Juliers, France, and Holland, and forbade the export of native wool. Refugees from France were welcomed, and received permission to settle where they pleased. Some of the exiles were of noble or high rank; others were eminent as scholars; and others, again, were manufacturers. Houses were erected for them; they were settled upon waste lands given to them for tillage, and exempted from taxes for several years until their industry provided them with an adequate return. Protestant fugitives from Bohemia and Salzburg found a home here, as did also the Waldenses and many persecuted families from the Palatinate.

Immigrations of skilled labourers were encouraged on a large scale by Frederic II., who, during a reign of forty-six years, settled 42,609 such families in 539 villages; an achievement which entitles him to be called Great far more than all his conquests. Factories were erected in

Berlin and Potsdam for the spinning of wool, and the weaving of linen. Cotton works, also, and sugar refineries, tanneries, mining and metal works, were established in various places. Frederick encouraged production in every division of industry. He improved communication by the formation of canals and the construction of roads. He extended credit, and made capital available by the establishment of banks, insurance companies, and kindred institutions. His energy was such that every project of improvement passed under his personal surveillance. Wastes were reclaimed, industry raised its head, and trade flourished. His schemes were carried out with too high a hand for constant success, but most of them were suggested by sound sense, and laid the foundations of the greatness and prosperity of Prussia. In other instances by his policy he unwittingly crippled the very industries whose growth he was so anxious to promote. For the sake of getting money easily he farmed the taxes, a practice copied from France. A system of tolls upon all the frontiers of the kingdom was adopted, by which the linen and cloth manufacturers reaped an advantage at the expense of every other industry.

*Saxony.*—The natural resources of Saxony are so rich and varied, that it was among the last of the German states to feel the full extent of the miseries attendant upon war, and the first to recover from their effects. Manufactures of linen, cotton, wool, and silk were very important. Linen was exchanged for Spanish wool, through Hamburg, and was also sent to Poland. Leipsic fair was a commercial congress of all nations, and the centre of the trade of the country. The orchards were a perennial source of wealth. This prosperity was ruinously injured by the Seven Years' War, which left the country involved in debt, its people impoverished, and their numbers greatly diminished. As late as the year 1790, the ruins of houses were still to be seen all over the land.



*Brunswick.*—Commerce in this duchy was centred in the great fair of Brunswick, established in 1671. The rearing of sheep and the cultivation of the fleece were even more successful than in Saxony, and sheep and wool were exported. The yarn trade afforded employment for many hands, and the mineral resources of the country provided raw materials for hardware and glass manufactures. Brunswick partook of the fortunes of Saxony in the Seven Years' War, its industries and finances being prostrated, and the duchy partially depopulated.

*Augsburg.*—This city declined in consequence of the diversion of the overland traffic through Venice. Its cotton manufactures outlasted those of other textile fabrics. Its trade was afterwards confined to banking and exchange operations. The exchange erected here was the first of its kind.

*Frankfort-on-the-Main.*—This commercial city owed its prosperity to the excellence of its position. It was the medium of intercommunication between North and South Germany. English merchants transacted much business at Frankfort. Its wealth arose from intermediate profits, rather than from native resources.

*Cologne,* one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of the Hanseatic League, might have survived the fall of the Confederation but for its own erroneous policy. Domestic broils, the harsh expulsion of the Jews, the emigration of the weavers through the wanton public destruction of their looms, and above all the closing of the Rhine, in the sixteenth century, by the Dutch, caused the trade of Cologne to decline rapidly—a condition from which it did not recover during the period under review.

*Nuremberg,* more properly *Nürnberg*, celebrated in the history of the Hanse for the numberless wares to which it gave its name, as well as its Oriental trade through Venice, declined with the Hanse, but suffered most severely from the Thirty Years' War. Its manufactures were ruined,

and its annual fair abandoned. When at length the productive fields of Bavaria were cultivated anew, Nürnberg industry once more revived. Articles in steel and brass, and every kind of hardware, were made; turnery, mirrors, and musical instruments, glass, porcelain, watches, first called "Nürnberg eggs," tissues, and toys, found ready markets in Bavaria and other parts of Germany, and more distant markets in Spain, Holland, Portugal, Russia, and Turkey.

*Bohemia*, from its great fertility, resumed soon after the war its former fruitful aspect, but its ancient manufactures took a long time to recover.

*Hamburg* flourished while the commerce and industry of the other German towns decayed with the Hanse, or were destroyed by war. Conveniently situated as a depot, it became wealthy through the profits on the supplies it furnished to the armies, and monetary exchanges. At the peace of Westphalia, 1648, Hamburg was wealthier and possessed a greater population than at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. This was owing to the influx of settlers driven from their homes by the ravages of war. No troops were quartered in Hamburg, which was the main reliance of the army as an emporium of stores. Its neutral flag did not, however, invariably protect its ships from being taken. During the war with France, from 1744 to 1748, the prizes taken at sea by the English were generally disposed of at Hamburg. Again, in the Seven Years' War, from 1756 to 1763, the utility of Hamburg to the army ensured the city the like good fortune. Trade ruined elsewhere centred here. Intercourse with England was much extended. Woollen manufactures and hardware from that country were exchanged for metals, timber, and linen. By the same route Silesian linen reached Spain and Portugal. The trade with France was in the luxuries rather than the necessities of life, and consisted chiefly of wines, colonial produce, and commodities demanded by the fashion of the day. Its North American trade especially increased; and

this, together with that of the Dutch and Danish West Indian colonies, was now carried on directly in Hamburg vessels, instead of passing through England as an emporium. Rice and tobacco in particular, amongst other colonial produce, were thus procured.

*Bremen.*—Bremen vessels, like those of Hamburg, were exempted from the provisions of the Navigation Act, and allowed to enter British ports. Both cities made a profit of their neutrality. Linens from Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and German wares, were exported from Bremen. This city was at a disadvantage in its harbour compared with Hamburg, and the Weser was not navigable so far inland as the Elbe, nevertheless the facilities of trade at both ports attracted merchants and merchandise, and foreigners freely received all the rights of burghership to induce them to settle there. The chief promoters of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, inaugurated in the year 1611, were foreigners, and exiles from Holland in 1619 instituted the Bank of Hamburg. Hamburg and Bremen trade was chiefly that of carrying, and was dependent upon the varying wants of the countries for whom they acted as agents.

*Lübeck*, the capital of the Hanse, flourished for nearly four hundred years, but declined so much with the fall of the League, that the grass grew in its deserted streets. It retained a part of its trade with the northern kingdoms and with the south-west of Europe; to which countries, however, it sent but little German produce, except corn and wool. The animal fair, chiefly for the sale of wool, lost its former importance.

*Dantzic* rose into eminence upon the dissolution of the Hansè. It was the chief grain port of the Baltic. Dutch merchants made this port their great resort for corn, and its storehouses held 500,000 quarters of corn. Wool and timber, next to grain, were at first the principal constituents of its trade. As a free state Dantzic reaped great advantage

in purveying for the troops during the Seven Years' War. The city mixed itself up with the affairs, and partook of the fortunes, of Poland. It suffered many injuries to its trade by sieges, and still more by the policy of Prussia. In 1772 the state, along its whole extent, was hemmed in, and heavy duties were imposed which effectually stopped all inland trade with Germany. In 1793 Dantzic was compelled to accept a Prussian garrison and own allegiance to Prussia, when new havens arose, and a direct maritime commerce. Königsberg, Elbing, Stettin, and Stralsund share with Dantzic and Lübeck the intermediate or freighting trade, once in the hands of the Dutch. Embden and Wismar at this period grew to importance as German trading towns.

For a great part of the time embraced by the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, Germany itself, free from the distractions of war, administered to the wants of the belligerent nations. Trade and agriculture made rapid advances. Vast quantities of grain and timber produced in Poland, Prussia, and Germany were exported from German harbours. Butter, wool, and all kinds of cattle, the fruits of Mecklenburg husbandry, gave value and importance to the commerce of the port of Rostock. England and her colonies received Silesian and Westphalian linen. Flourishing manufactures of cotton sprang up in various states. Cotton goods, broadcloths, linens, and the mineral produce of Saxony became renowned throughout Europe. Lower Silesia entered upon new branches of manufacturing industry, and Upper Silesia worked new mines. The looms of Prussia in 1776-7 manufactured for the Russian market alone cloths to the value of 6,500,000 thalers. From the Mark of Brandenburg, and from Elberfeld, goods were sent to America. Customers from all quarters came to the Brunswick and Leipsic fairs. An active commerce was established in Prussia by Frederic the Great.

*South and South-eastern States ; Austria.*—The fruits of the commercial and industrial policy of Maria-Theresa and Joseph II. were gathered after their deaths rather than during their reigns. Austrian commerce was chiefly confined to interchange with Russia. Some trade nevertheless was pursued with America and the Indies, but none with Africa. Austrian linen, glass, and other manufactures came into use during the American War.

*Bavaria* remained in a backward condition longer than the rest of Germany, but felt at length the industrial influences of the period. Handicraft and husbandry improved, silk cultivation was introduced, and numberless mulberry trees were planted.

*Wurtemberg*, one of the most productive regions of Germany, recovered from the ravages of the war, and became the seat of varied if not extensive industries, of which the linen manufacture was the chief.

Vegetable and animal produce left a surplus for export. Tobacco took the lead in value, but the exports of timber increased year by year. The production of wines on the contrary decreased. Neat cattle were sent to France in large numbers.

At the date of the French Revolution the exports of Germany consisted of linen and linen yarn, flax and hemp, and wool and woollen cloth, calicoes and lace, raw silk and silk stuffs ; grain, timber, and staves ; Rhenish and Hungarian wines, tobacco, leather, Parmesan cheese, mineral produce, as copper, lime, and salt ; glass, porcelain, and pottery, Polish wool, wax, potash, pitch, tar, anise, dye stuffs, and Levant goods. The imports consisted of colonial and West Indian produce, spices, cacao, cochineal, tobacco, rice, Brazilian sugar, southern fruits, grain, flax, soda and potash, wine and brandy, paper, sailcloth, woollen cloths, furs, peltry, butter and cheese, bricks, talc, iron and other metals. These imports supplied the materials for new and improved manufactures in gold and silver thread, stockings,

cotton and woollen cloths, and cotton-printing. The mauufacture of tobacco, sugar-refining, and brass and copper works also employed the people. The fisheries did not partake of the growing prosperity, the whale fishery especially declined yearly.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### NEGRO SLAVE TRADE.

SLAVERY as an institution is as ancient as human records. Negro servitude is depicted upon the oldest Egyptian monuments. By the slave trade we mean the traffic in negroes, which arose from the unfitness of the American Indians for labour in the mines and on the plantations. When the Spaniards began to cultivate the islands of the West Indies and to work the American mines, the mortality which ensued among the enslaved natives was frightful. In San Domingo the population sank from 60,000 to 14,000 between 1508 and 1515. Elsewhere the natives were being rapidly extirpated. The Caribs, who resisted enslavement, were slaughtered by the Spaniards in thousands. Bartholomew de Las Casas, a compassionate priest, prevailed on the Spanish government, after some years of importunity, to sanction the employment of negroes in lieu of the natives. Thus by a most remarkable exercise of benevolence one race of slaves was substituted for another. There had been as early as 1503 an importation of a few Africans, whose labour had proved equal to that of four times as many Indians, and who far from diminishing in number had rapidly increased. Their adaptability to the circumstances was evident, and ere long the commercial nations of Europe competed with each other for the profit arising from stealing and selling human beings. The trade was not new to the Portuguese. From their first African discoveries and the settlement of Arguin, they had yearly brought away a cargo of seven or eight hundred slaves. Slave *stealing* was forbidden, but the tender conscience of the Portuguese did

not cavil at the honest exchange of negroes, kidnapped beforehand, for a few glass beads and worthless trinkets. There were in St. Thomas, a Portuguese island, sugar-planters owning 3,000 slaves.

In the year 1510 the King of Spain sent fifty negroes to work in the mines of Hispaniola, and in 1517 the royal permission sought by Las Casas came into operation. From this date 4,000 slaves at least were required to supply the yearly demand of the islands of St. Domingo, Jamaica, Porto Rico, and Cuba. Charles V. granted to his Flemish favourite, Breza, a patent-right of transshipping 4,000 slaves to the New World. Breza sold the privilege for 25,000 ducats to Genoese traders, who allowed themselves a handsome margin to provide against casualties.

Portugal was not only first in the traffic, but the largest trader. Brazil was always in need of slaves. The importations increased in magnitude so fast that before the trade was a century old, 28,000 slaves were computed to be sent every year into that country. When Portugal was annexed to Spain by Philip II., in 1580, she undertook the trade for Spain as well as on her own account. The trade was made exclusively Portuguese, and a formal document was drawn up regulating the details. Peter Gomez Reynel, the first contractor, bound himself to deliver in the colonies 4,250 slaves, not more than 670 of whom were to be in ill health, under a penalty of ten ducats for each one diseased. At fifteen months' notice he was required to deliver in any part of Spanish America named by the government slaves not exceeding 2,000 to each port. Another stipulation bargained for 500 annually, to be shipped to Buenos Ayres. Reynel held the contract till 1609, when he was succeeded by John Rodriguez Continho. A trading college under a royal charter assumed the direction of the traffic after these contractors. The governor of this college, from 1615 to 1622, was Antonio Rodriguez Elvas, and others followed, till Portugal regained her independence in 1640.



As other nations began to possess colonies in America, the example set by Spain and Portugal, of using negro labour, was imitated. England, as early as 1553, had visited the West Coast of Africa for gold dust and ivory, and in 1562 the government of Queen Elizabeth passed an Act making it lawful to purchase negroes, but only with their own consent. The first venture was that of Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins. Elizabeth, won over by the plea of humanity to the heathens, who were to be taken to a Christian country and taught the truths of the gospel, gave her sanction to the undertaking, expressly declaring that no negro was to be taken except of his free will, or "it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven."\* Thus commissioned, Hawkins sailed to Sierra Leone, and by fire and sword robbed the defenceless African villages of three hundred negroes, whom he exchanged at San Domingo for a cargo of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. In honour of this exploit Sir John Hawkins, raised to the dignity of knighthood, was authorised to wear on his coat of arms a *demi-moor, proper*, bound with a cord. A second and a third expedition followed, but as the first essays at colonising by the English were unsuccessful, these negroes were sold in Brazil at a great profit. When it was known in England that the Africans were kidnapped and not free agents, the traffic was discountenanced. It was not till the year 1616 that a cargo of negroes was actually imported into an English colony. By an accident, a Dutch vessel with negroes bound for the Spanish settlements

\* "This commerce," says Savory, "appears inhuman to those who do not know that these poor people are idolaters, or Mohametans; and the Christian merchants in buying them from their enemies draw them from a cruel slavery, and find for them, in the islands to which they are transferred, not only a gentler servitude, but even the knowledge of the true God and the way of salvation, by the kind instruction which the priests and pious men give to them, with the desire to make Christians of them; and there is reason to believe that without these considerations this commerce would not be allowed."—"Senegal Slaves." Hist. Colbert.

touched the shores of Virginia, and the experiment of employing slave-labour was tried by the planters. The result was so satisfactory, that negroes became of greater value to English merchants than wax, ivory, and gold, and formed a part of the cargo of every vessel visiting the African coast. The Indians looked upon the first blacks imported into Virginia with fear and aversion, calling them evil spirits.

Dutch intercourse with the African coast commenced in 1593. Its first objects were gold dust and elephants' teeth, but the traders were soon induced, by the great profits, to extend their barter to slaves. Fort Nassau, upon the Gold Coast, was erected as a depot for this traffic. The Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, greatly extended this commerce, which was promoted still more by the taking of St. George della Mina from the Portuguese, by John Maurice of Nassau. This station assumed the lead of the Dutch possessions in Africa. It enclosed a considerable area, a barrack for troops, and a depot for slaves and merchandise, impregnable to the attacks of the natives. In 1661 the Dutch secured to themselves, in perpetuity, their conquests from the Portuguese on the Gold Coast.

So great was the profit of this trade, that eventually every commercial state of Europe took part in it. The share of France became the mainspring of the French West India Company, founded in 1664, and afterwards of the Guinea Company, which, in 1701, negotiated with Philip of Anjou (Philip V.) an *Assiento* treaty binding the French to deliver in the Spanish colonies an annual supply of 4,800 negro slaves, at a fixed tariff of  $33\frac{1}{4}$  piastres per head. Between 700 and 800 slaves were also taken to Buenos Ayres every year.

Spain more than once attempted to conduct her own slave trade, but she continually fell back upon others for a supply of negroes. Dominico Grilli and Antonio Lemellin, in 1662, engaged to furnish 500 slaves annually for the royal dockyards, and to pay a duty of 100 piastres per

head on 3,000 other negroes, for the monopoly of the Spanish trade for a term of seven years. By this course Spain tried to diminish the vast contraband traffic, which she was powerless to prevent. In 1696, a like treaty was entered into with the Portuguese, one binding the French to deliver into the Spanish colonies an annual supply of 4,800 negro slaves, and in 1701, an *Assiento* treaty with the Guinea Company. At the end of the War of the Succession in Spain, in 1713, the English South-Sea Company entered upon an engagement to supply Spanish America yearly with 4,800 slaves. An additional privilege was sought and accorded, of permitting a ship of 500 tons to take to the fair of Puerto Bello once a year a cargo of European manufactures and miscellaneous goods, by which means illicit commerce was covertly instituted. This arrangement continued in force up to the year 1748, when an indemnity of £100,000 was granted to the company by the Spanish government for rescinding the contract, and the Spaniards once more entered personally into the pursuit. A few years' experience proved the new arrangement to be a failure, and the trade again reverted to the English. In fact, from the middle of the seventeenth century, when this commerce was in full vigour, it was for the most part carried on by the English. An African Company was started in 1672, under the patronage of Charles II., the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert. Long before this date there had been English settlements on the African shores, of which Cape Coast Castle was the chief. The African Company declined in vigour towards the end of the century, and in 1710 the trade was declared open. It appears, however, to have had its powers in a measure restored, for in 1730 it was assisted with a yearly bounty of £10,000. An artificial vitality thus derived carried the company through a languid existence of twenty years. In 1750, a parliamentary commission of nine members, with power to issue at a fixed tariff licenses to engage in the

African trade, superseded the company. The English trade in slaves reached its height in 1773, when, between the 1st of January and the 16th of May, thirty vessels conveyed 12,250 negroes to America. Liverpool took the lion's share of the profits, employing a slave fleet of a hundred and five vessels on the Guinea Coast. Besides these there were fifty-eight from London, twenty-five from Bristol, and five from Lancaster. The commodities given in exchange were trinkets, cotton and woollen goods, particularly red cloth, clasp-knives, scissors, copper utensils, needles, bright steel goods, mirrors, and, above all, brandy. After 1730, the Dutch relinquished every attempt to keep their slave trade exclusive, and opened their African ports as freely as their home ports to the ships of all nations. They conducted a trade which varied but little through many years. They imported into the New World, annually, from 6,000 to 7,000 negroes, in twenty-five or thirty vessels of about 200 tons burden. The magnitude of the French slave trade may be estimated by a similar array of figures, referring to periods at an interval of one hundred years. In 1685 there were imported into San Domingo by the French, in sixty-five vessels, nearly 22,000 slaves, valued at over 40,000,000 of livres, and more than 11,000 were sent to other parts, making in all about 33,000, which, at an average value of 2,000 livres, were worth 66,000,000 of livres. These slave ships were distributed as follows :—the port of Nantes owned twenty-five, Havre fifteen, La Rochelle fifteen, Harfleur five, St. Malo two, Bordeaux two, and Marseilles one. In 1789 the French slave trade was at its height. It had been fostered by Louis XVI., who had not only abolished the monopoly of Goree and made the trade free, but had offered a premium of 40 livres per ton upon every slave ship. This subsidy in the above year alone amounted to 2,400,000 livres.

Once more the Spaniards tried to conduct their own trade. Having wrested the islands of Annabon and Fernando Po

from the Portuguese, these islands were made Spanish factories. In imitation of the policy of Louis XVI., bounties, privileges, and favours were granted to encourage the trade; but the result was as before, and again the trade fell into the hands of England.

If England had been led to take part in this traffic by its profits, there were English maritime colonies in North America which were incited thereto by the double profit of the traffic and of slave-labour. Before independence was won by the United States, intercourse had long been established between the colonies and the Guinea settlements. Boston and Philadelphia employed sixty or seventy vessels, and supplied direct an annual demand of ten thousand blacks. Charleston occasionally imported for its sole use as many as six thousand negroes in a year. Amongst the minor European states engaged in the slave trade were Denmark, Sweden, and Brandenburg.

*Denmark and Sweden.*—Having made a successful trial trip about the year 1653 in this branch of commerce, the government erected, for its continuance and extension, the forts of Fredericksborg and Christiansborg on the Guinea Coast. Eventually these stations were given to the Danish West India Company, whose privileges were bought in 1754 by Frederick V., and in the subsequent reign of Christian VII., all exclusive rights were done away with. The Danish importation of negroes was about sixteen hundred annually. The Swedish experience of the Guinea trade was short, and closed abruptly through the fraud of the first governor, Carlof, who plundered Fort Cabo Corso, just founded (1649) by charter of Queen Christina. Carlof fled with 300,000 rix-dollars, and the fort became an English factory.

*Brandenburg.*—The connection of this electorate with the slave trade is limited to the building of Fort Great Fredericksburg, in 1683, by the Elector Frederick William, and of a few small forts in the succeeding year, together with the rebuilding of Fort Arguin in 1687. The connection of these forts

with German history ended in 1728, when they were handed over for a small sum to the Dutch, who had previously made themselves masters of some of the forts, and threatened to obtain possession of the rest.

The slave traffic in Africa was chiefly carried on along the West Coast from Cape Blanco, between Cape Verde and the Canaries, to Cape Negro in Angola, or through 40° of latitude. Inasmuch as the Gulf of Guinea runs due east for nearly 30° of longitude, the actual extent of coast embraced by the slave traffic was much greater than the number of degrees north and south of the equator would indicate. Along this great stretch of coast were planted forts and factories, settled by representatives of almost every kingdom in Europe. These factories were the depots in which the slaves captured in the interior were kept to await shipment. Merchants here found a cargo awaiting them, and had not, as at first, to cruise along an unhealthy shore, making chance visits, and often finding neither ivory nor slaves. The factories on the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast were the largest and most important places of export. The forts were defended by guns, and a garrison strong enough to resist not only native assaults, but the hostility of European powers. Next in importance were the settlements of Arguin, Portendik, Goree, and St. Louis, on the Gambia. A steady and constant drain upon the interior was kept up by the keen demands of the whites. Their ever-open warehouses received all that came, whether the "goods" of a solitary trader or the slave-droves of an African prince. Sub-factors ascended the rivers, at the mouths of which the settlements were usually made, and penetrated to the populous inland towns to push forward the traffic. The trade, begun upon the coast, extended far inland. Tribes of the distant interior engaged in incessant petty warfare, not for the conquest of territory, but for the capture of men. Slave hunts were organized on the most extensive scale. The king of the Foulahs, one of the

central tribes, kept in 1794 an army of sixteen thousand men, always engaged in ravaging his neighbours' dominions; and depended upon the slaves thus acquired for the principal portion of his revenues. Timbuctoo and other large cities were made emporiums or inland warehouses to regulate the supply to the coast. Thus, in order to confer a benefit upon the continent of the New World, one of the continents of the Old World was devastated. That America would have reached a higher condition of prosperity and civilisation without slavery is a point which public opinion, even in the United States, may now be considered to have settled.

Without very exact data, we may assume that the number of Africans arriving in America, when the trade was the most flourishing, was hardly fewer than one hundred thousand yearly. This was the net result; the gross total of slaves who were taken from Africa was much larger. Thousands were killed in attack and defence, many more died during the land and sea transit, and it is estimated that one-fourth perished after their arrival during the period of acclimatization. The depopulation of Africa from all these causes went on, it is believed, at the rate of five hundred thousand a year, an exhaustion sufficient to empty in a generation many a European kingdom. Its effects are seen to this day in the scanty population of the African seaboard compared with the interior. Numerous as the central tribes appeared, there was no surplus population, for the country could have sustained the whole European race without overburdening its resources.

An inspection of the human chattels, as strict and careful as though the purchase had been that of cattle, was made before the barter was effected; on the conclusion of which each slave was branded with the owner's trade-mark on the breast or arm. Originally the articles of barter on the European side consisted of horses, iron, silver, silks, and cowries, to which many other commodities were added as

the trade became organized. The Moors continue to give horses in exchange for negroes; a good horse, now as then, being valued at from ten to fourteen slaves. "Negro aprons," as pieces of silk or cotton from three to five ells long were named, often constituted the medium of exchange. A healthy slave was worth about one hundred and thirty aprons and an anker of brandy. Coin was scarcely ever used in these transactions, but brandy was universally acceptable. Liverpool alone sent in the year 1771 upon this errand 12,144 ankers of that spirit. The savage passion for ardent spirits severed the ties of kindred, and tempted the sale, the one by the other, of children and parents. At Sierra Leone, iron bars were used as a measure of value. These bars were nine feet long by two inches broad, and about the third of an inch thick, having a fixed French value of 5½ livres, and an English value of 3s. 4d. By this standard a musket was worth about five bars; two pounds of powder, one bar. Copper elsewhere took the place of iron. On the Grain or Pepper Coast, values were computed in pieces of calico.

As the coast resources were exhausted, the area of supply inland was rapidly enlarged. The cost of procuring slaves increased with the difficulties of transit, while the American demand for slaves was unfailing. The value of slaves rose considerably. A young strong negro, who could at one time be bartered for four or five litres of brandy (worth ten livres in money), afterwards fetched six ducats. Thus at Fredericksburg slaves reached the value of ninety-six rix-dollars' worth of goods, and the still higher value of one hundred and sixty rix-dollars on the Gold Coast. The negroes obtained south of the equator were less valuable. Those of Angola were inferior to all the rest, and fetched the lowest prices. Senegambian negroes were the most highly esteemed, the race being of a finer physical type. Intermediate between the two in physical development and in value were the negroes of Upper Guinea.



The following summary gives the value of slaves in America in the year 1750:—

Name of colony.	Value of slaves.
Danish colonies . . . .	from 270 to 300 piastres.
San Domingo . . . .	1,500 livres.
North Carolina . . . .	£120 to £180.
If skilled labourer (cooper, &c.).	£250.
Surinam . . . . { Male . . . .	500 guilders.
Female . . . .	450 guilders.
If a wheelwright or millwright .	2,500 guilders.
If a cook . . . . .	800 guilders.
Negroes bought on board an Eng- lish slaver . . . . .	£50 to £60.
Slaves were smuggled into San Domingo by the English . . . .	at 900 livres a head.

These prices allowed a profit to the importers of 50 or 60 per cent. So appalling was the mortality, however, that if one-third of the number received in the African factories reached their destination, the result was looked upon as satisfactory. The value of a slave who, through his docility, learnt in time to be an operative, was greatly enhanced, owing to the profits that accrued to his owner by the practice of letting him out on hire. At the Dutch depots mothers with children fetched a higher value; elsewhere children were thought an encumbrance, and the mothers were sold alone, or the native trader would not pass the child on to its mother till the sale was completed; the consequence to the child often being death inflicted by the buyer for the deception practised upon him.

*Abolition of the Slave Trade.*—One striking feature about this traffic was the acquiescence in it, if not the approval of it among the nations of Christendom for three hundred years. Scruples were doubtless felt by some, and at rare intervals men arose keen enough to see into the misery and iniquity of the commerce, and bold enough to inveigh against its horrors. Cardinal Ximenes denounced the project from the very first, in 1512. We have no English protest preserved against the slave trade earlier than 1650, when the

writings of a clergyman, Morgan Godwyn, called attention to the subject. Another century passed without any active efforts for its suppression. In 1754 the Friends, or Quakers, came to a resolution that it was inconsistent both with Christianity and with common justice to live in ease and plenty by the toil of our fellow-creatures, who had been entrapped by fraud and violence. From this time they strove against the slave trade, and many of them set their slaves free. The crowning test of their honesty of purpose came in 1783, when slavery was publicly abolished among the Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and North Maryland; the keeping of a slave being followed by expulsion from the community. By this honourable course a new spirit was infused into negro labour, and it was very soon found more economical to pay wages for free service than to maintain slaves. Even with this evidence, the example met with scanty approval from other owners. There were thirty slaves still belonging to Boston in 1789. In the end, however, the moral force of this movement led the rest of the northern states of America to prohibit every form of slave labour.

## CHAPTER XV.

### SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN COMMERCE.

THE term Renaissance, used in art to designate a revival of taste and skill distinctive of the sixteenth century, would apply at that period to every department of human intelligence. After the long gestation of the Middle Ages, civilisation entered upon a career of wider range. Inventions reached their fruition ; enterprise went hand in hand with knowledge ; for to know spurred men on to dare. Maritime discovery, and the circumnavigation of the earth by Magellan, were fatal to ecclesiastical prescription. The labours of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton, aided by the application of the telescope, finally demonstrated the theory of the earth's rotundity, as well as of its axial and orbital revolutions.

In summarising these advances and their consequences, we are led to observe the general breaking up of old traditions, and an incessant struggle amongst civilised states to obtain possession of their share, then first available, of the full heritage of the world. For instance, it is at this time that we see the commencement of national commerce as distinct from municipal. Kingdoms bordering upon the ocean were more advantageously situated than Venice and the other Mediterranean states, whose maritime traffic was always partial and intermediate. Although comparatively few nations could be regarded as commercial during the period between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, nevertheless the region of interchange was vastly extended.

With the decline of Venice the link between the Hanse

and India was loosened, and its main commerce was diverted at the source. Various causes direct and indirect combined to curtail the duration of the league. The direct ones inherent in the institution itself may be summed up thus:—1st. The accomplishment of the purpose for which the league had been instituted. 2nd. The want of a principle of nationality. 3rd. The confined sphere of its action, as compared with the new areas and routes opened up in the course of maritime discovery.

The Hanseatic League arose when semi-barbarism prevailed throughout much of Europe, and when the right of the strongest was law. In promoting commerce and in increasing wealth, the league acted as a great civilising agency; but gradually the evil against which it had been an international safeguard seemed no longer to exist. Nations had grown prosperous and powerful, and law and order had become respected. Labour became organized, and traders could travel by sea or land, without fear of pirates or freebooters. The great bond of union, mutual defence, had become unnecessary; and the members of the league, being no longer coherent, fell asunder. The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, felt that they could stand alone. Russia would not brook the pretensions of the imperious leaguers, and drove them from Novgorod, and transferred the Russian trade to other hands. Successive restrictions of Hanse privileges were put in force; the Tudors encouraged national commerce in English vessels; and Elizabeth almost put an end to intercourse with the Hanseates by the imposition of excessive tariffs. Another blow was the revolt of Bruges, one of the chief Hanse cities, which ended in the harbour being filled up with sand, and the trade and Hanse bank being removed to Antwerp. When this city was in its turn destroyed, the trade left for Amsterdam.

Again, the Hanseates were of no one country. The members joined for their own advantages, and fought to

defend themselves. There was no loyalty to the league itself as an institution. If the private interest of any town could be better served by severance from the league, there was no spirit of fellowship to prevent a secession, and in consequence, as the various states grew settled and wealthy, and therefore powerful, they threw off their allegiance.

Lastly, with the opening up of new fields for enterprise by the discoveries of Vasco de Gama and Columbus, another epoch was inaugurated. Minor causes of decay had their origin in faults of policy and conduct. The league abused its power. From the defence it proceeded to the monopoly of trade. The commerce of the east and north-east of Europe was virtually in its hands. It compelled foreign merchants to trade in Hanseatic ships, and destroyed any vessels in the Baltic belonging to nations outside the confederation. In order to suppress all interference with its sources of gain, it waged long and costly wars to crush the trade and maritime power of its rivals. It not only drove the flag of the Netherlands from the Baltic, but made Norway and Sweden succumb, while its contests with Denmark were almost continuous.

The disturbed condition of the Levantine states, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, operated powerfully in favour of the newly-discovered sea passage. Bagdad, the capital of the Saracen empire, and the representative of the splendour and trade of ancient Babylon, had greatly declined, its trade having been nearly ruined by the prevalence of predatory bands in its vicinity, and the rest diverted to Constantinople; which, by the fatal lethargy of its possessors, was now cut off from the rest of the world.

At the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen were the only remaining representatives of this union. The Dutch superseded the Hanse merchants as intermediaries for the distribution of Indian goods throughout Europe, and were themselves gradually outstripped in the race by the growing vigour of the English.

But of all indirect causes of decline, those that arose from the unprecedented mental activity of the period were of the greatest consequence. Germany for many years was in the throes of the Great Reformation, the origin of religious and bitter wars, in which the Hanse took sides, and paid the penalty in its ruin.

For a hundred years Spain and Portugal reaped the reward of their naval enterprise in an exclusive possession of the treasure and merchandise arriving from the New World and from India. Colonies of Spaniards were established in Central and South America, wherever gold and silver were to be procured. Brazil was settled by the Portuguese, who also established a commercial dominion over the whole of India. Folly and perversity on the part of both the Iberian kingdoms, however, destroyed the fruits of empire faster than these matured. Indolence and selfishness consumed treasure without limit. Instead of blessing the Peninsula, gold enriched the more vigorous neighbouring states, and provided the capital which they, provoked by envy and ill-treatment, expended in hostilities against those very states to whom they owed the sinews of war.

The indisposition of the conquerors of America to manual labour, combined with their greed of gold, made them cruel tyrants towards the unoffending Indians, who were heartlessly enslaved, and goaded, and scourged to make them work in the mines, for which they were utterly unfitted by constitution. A remedy as bad as the disease, though approved of at first by Church and State, was inaugurated in fraud, and, under the designation of the *negro slave trade*, entailed momentous results upon America.

Of those who contended with the Spaniards and Portuguese for a share in the profits of commerce, the most formidable were the Dutch, who, as the chief carriers of Europe, were already skilful seamen, and were able by the beginning of the seventeenth century to supplant the Portu-

guese in India, and to deprive them temporarily of Brazil. This was the age of Dutch commercial supremacy.

The Eighty Years' War was a civil contest, the Low Countries at its commencement being subject to Spain. The Dutch, however, in the end achieved their independence. The South Netherlands remained longer under Spanish rule. Dutch enterprise, which had triumphed at home over climate, soil, and sea, showed the proud monarchies of Portugal and Spain that all Europe would not stand by and see them appropriate and misuse the two great continents of Asia and America.

Holland in its turn yielded to English ascendancy, the influence of which had begun to be felt in the days of Elizabeth. Our colonial empire, now so vast in its proportions, dates its origin from the discoveries of the intrepid mariners of this period.

The influx of the precious metals into Europe during the sixteenth century increased the amount of specie in circulation, and facilitated the operations of interchange. Its first effect, however, was to derange values, and ultimately it led to the raising of the prices or money values of all commodities. Facilities for commerce multiplied fast. Numerous new commodities swelled the list of articles of trade. Means of rapid communication and correspondence came into use. Credit was extended, and systems of indemnity became common. These strides in modern civilisation were exemplified in the great fairs of Leipsic and Brunswick; in the increase of insurance companies, first instituted in Florence; in the construction of canals and military roads; the establishment of the Antwerp, London, and Amsterdam exchanges; the general prevalence of banks and post-offices, and the negotiation of commercial treaties, of which that between England and Russia was one of the earliest. Industrial arts received a powerful impetus from commerce. The streams of raw produce now flowing into Europe accumulated a store of capital, drawing

forth the intelligence and skill of man, and providing subsistence for increasing millions of people. Linen and cloth-weaving flourished in the Netherlands. Silk stuffs became a staple manufacture of Lyons and Tours, and Saxony produced the finest lace.

The eighteenth century was distinguished by wars which devastated the Continent, and which fell with particular severity upon Holland and Germany. The Thirty Years' War was a religious contest. The German States, though sadly impoverished by it, revived with peace. War in these times, indeed, was slow and monotonous; the besieging of fortresses and an occasional pitched battle occupied the summer, the winter being employed in negotiations. Notwithstanding frequent and protracted hostilities, comparatively little change was made in the boundaries of the European states. Russia and Prussia, however, were aggrandised, and Sweden and Poland were in a measure dismembered.

Russia is interesting as being the last of the great powers to assume its place among commercial states, and in recalling the story of the foundation of ancient sites of commerce, in the new capital which Peter the Great reared on the Neva. St. Petersburg, like Constantinople and Alexandria, sprang into existence by the fiat of royal will. Novgorod *Veliki*, the ancient Bank of the Hanseatic League, revived. So obvious were its advantages for trade that Peter thought of making it his capital. In the course of a few years Nischni Novgorod, at the confluence of the Oka and the Volga, has become the scene of the largest cosmopolitan fair the world has ever seen.

Connected with European conflicts were claims to the newly-discovered or recently-settled foreign districts, and in extent of outlying territory, England, whose soil was always free from foreign foes, profited by the opportunity and gradually rose to the front rank amongst commercial nations. The groundwork of commercial success had been



laid in the previous century, when, stimulated by the great naval discoveries, and encouraged by the sovereigns of the House of Tudor, domestic industry and commerce had expanded, colonies had been founded, geographical explorations undertaken, and a naval power created whose prowess was relied upon, and not in vain, to meet the Invincible Armada. The Navigation Laws of the time of Cromwell took from the Dutch a vast trade which was thenceforth conducted by the English themselves.

The active commerce of the United States took its rise in the troublous times of the American and the French Revolutions. The partial suspension of British commerce, and of the colonial trade of North America, favoured the West Indian settlements of the other European states. Cuba increased its production of sugar to such an extent that there was a surplus for foreign markets even when Spain had been supplied. A like stimulus promoted an increase of production in the French islands of Guadaloupe and Martinique. The profits of planting tempted the smuggling fraternity of St. Croix to raise sugar; while the colonists of St. Thomas took advantage of the Dutch being drawn into the war, in 1781, to engage in the contraband trade. So eagerly coveted were the West Indian Islands, that every maritime state in Europe eventually secured settlements there, the British, Spanish, French, and Dutch. While the buccaneers remained and made the islands their retreat, neither peace nor industry could prevail. It at length became a common object to put them down, and they were either exterminated or compelled to resort to more honest modes of getting a livelihood. The matchless fertility of the islands showed itself in due course, and coffee, sugar, tobacco, and other tropical produce enriched the planters. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the islands were the abode of wealth, except where the blighting influence of Spain remained, as in Cuba. Spanish fatality attended this island, which, a generation previously, was the most productive pos-

session of Spain, but now only raised unimportant quantities of cotton, sugar, cocoa, and tobacco. Yet even the Spaniards could not wholly ruin the productive power of the "Queen of the Antilles."

When the separation of the colonies from the mother-country was completed, England transferred to Canada the privilege of colonial trade. As the Canadians traded with the United States, the same commodities still reached the West Indies, but were made dearer by taking a circuitous route. The loss to England of the United States was more than counterbalanced by the new acquisitions of the East India Company, which developed into a vast empire.

Maritime adventure, though in the magnitude of its results surpassed by the new hemisphere recently discovered, made known the thousand palm-clad coral reefs of the Pacific, the great continent of Australia, and the ice-bound confines of both the poles. The various states of Europe began to be rated in wealth and consequence in the order in which they promoted commerce, by their facilities for transport, their naval resources and colonial dependencies, the security they afforded to life and property, the equity of their laws, the increase in number and size of their towns, the establishment of markets, and of standards of weights and measures.

Inventions as wonderful as those with which the era of modern commerce opened, closed the period and ushered in that in which we live. Steam began to be used as a motive power, and increased the wealth of the world. Immense beds of coal were wrought in aid of machinery; science and art were enlisted in productive industry; the resources of all civilised nations were called forth in an unexampled manner; population rapidly increased, and myriads of people, who under former conditions could not have found the simplest elements of subsistence, were enabled to live in comfort.

Phenomena of a corresponding character were observable in urban handicrafts. There was a general disintegration of

guilds and close corporations, which, however necessary in preceding ages for mutual protection, now only interfered with the freedom of labour. The produce of the soil also was added to by the stores coming from the New World. Science was called in to the aid of agriculture. Improved implements were fabricated and used; the nature of the soil and the rotation of crops were made subjects of careful study. As knowledge brought new factors into play, human labour was more and more emancipated from drudgery, the forces of nature were called upon to relieve muscular toil, and mind, more than ever before, triumphed over matter.

## APPENDIX.

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### ANCIENT COMMERCE.

#### A.—TYRIAN HERCULES. Page 14.

THE doctrine of the Tyrian Hercules, as enunciated by Lloyd, gives us what, at the time of its promulgation, may have been a novelty, but which at present is superseded by an hypothesis equally speculative—the doctrine that Hercules is the sun labouring in its daily path for the production of the treasures of the earth, and as such a benefactor to men. In other words, the story of Hercules is what is called a Sun Myth, and Sun Myths are the order of the day. Lloyd, however, made him a merchant, whose name was Alcides, who, at the time when Deborah and Barak judged Israel, made great voyages, teaching the people of Greece to defend themselves against wild beasts and venomous serpents, marrying princesses, and striking the imaginations of the Greeks of his time, who afterwards raised him to the dignity of a demigod. Grote, on the other hand, in his “History of Greece,” chapter on Myths, vol. i., argues against all such explanations of ancient mythology.

#### B.—ORIGIN OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE. Page 17.

Egypt, under the rule of the kindred Hyksos kings, was naturally the first country with which the Phœnicians established commercial relations, and their intercourse with the country that was in the forefront of the civilisation of the world, must have had a powerful influence in developing the arts and sciences amongst them. Whether it was from this quarter that the Phœnician alphabet was derived, is a point on which it is much less easy to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion: *adhuc sub judice lis est*. Ewald maintains, *more suo* undoubtingly, that this inestimable benefit is due to the shepherd-kings of Avaris, who obtained it by a modification of the Egyptian hieratic writing, and the same view fundamentally is supported by a number of *savants* referred to by Rénan. That distinguished scholar is himself of the opinion that the alphabet of twenty-two letters had its origin in Babylon, where the earliest speci-

mens of it, he thinks, are found; and that the Phœnicians here, as in so many other points, were simply the medium through which the discoveries of Babylon passed into the western world. This view does not appear to harmonize with the admitted fact that the children of Israel were ignorant of the art of writing when they went down into Egypt, and had acquired the knowledge of it by the time of the Exodus. So that we are led to agree with M. Renan that "l'origine de l'écriture, chez les Semites comme chez tous les peuples, se cache dans une profonde nuit." At any rate, we may be certain that, when the Israelites entered the Holy Land, the Phœnicians were already carrying this priceless treasure wherever their commerce spread, though it was not till centuries after that the Greeks had made themselves familiar with its value.—"Phœnicia and Israel," A. S. WILKINS, M.A., Burney Prize, 1871.

C.—DISTINCTIONS OF TRIBES WHICH DEVASTATED THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE. Page 63.

*Scythians*.—The Tatars or Tartars were known in antiquity as Scythians. During the decline of the Roman empire these tribes began to seek more fertile regions, and the first who reached the frontier of Italy were the Huns, the ancestors of the modern Mongols. The first acknowledged sovereign of the vast country was the famous Genghis Khan. His empire by the conquest of China, Persia, and all Central Asia (1206—27), became one of the most formidable ever established, but it was split into parts in a few reigns. Timur, or Tamerlane, again conquered Persia, broke the power of the Turks in Asia Minor (1370—1400), and founded the Mogul dynasty in India.

*Alani*, a Tartar race, invaded Parthia, 75. They joined the Huns in invading the Roman empire, and were defeated by Theodosius, 379—382. They were subdued by the Visigoths, 452, and were eventually incorporated with them.

*Suevi*, a warlike Gothic tribe, which, with the Alani and Visigoths, entered Spain about 408, were overcome by the latter, and absorbed into their kingdom about 584.

*Longobards*, a tribe of the *Suevi* who derived their name from *lang* and *bart*, two Teutonic words meaning long-beards. They were the allies of Odoacer. They defeated and nearly annihilated the Heruli.

*Alemanni*, or All Men (*i.e.*, men of all nations), hence Allemagne, Germany. A body of Suevi, who were defeated by Caracalla, 214. After several repulses they invaded the empire under Aurelian, who subdued them in three battles, 270. They were again vanquished by Julian, 356, 357. They were defeated and subjugated by Clovis at Tolbiac (or Zulpich), 496. The Suabians are their descendants.

*Vandals*, a Germanic race, attacked the Roman empire in the third century, and began to ravage Germany and Gaul, 406—14; their kingdom in Spain was founded in 411; under Genserich they invaded and conquered the Roman territories in Africa, 429; and took Carthage, October, 439. They were subdued by Belisarius in 534, and finally driven out by the Saracen Moors.

*Huns*, a race of warlike Asiatics, said to have conquered China about 210 B.C., and to have been expelled therefrom about A.D. 90. They invaded Hungary about 376, and drove out the Goths. Marching westward under Attila, they were thoroughly beaten at Châlons by the consul Aëtius, 451. Their features and general appearance were described as hideous and repulsive, and their manners as savage in the extreme.

*Heruli*, a Germanic tribe which ravaged Greece and Asia Minor in the third century after Christ. Odoacer, their leader, overwhelmed the western empire, and became King of Italy, 476. He was defeated and put to death by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 491-3.

*Goths*, a warlike nation that inhabited the country between the Caspian, Euxine, and Baltic seas. They entered Mœsia, took Philippopolis, massacring thousands of its inhabitants; defeated and killed the Emperor Decius, 251; but were defeated by Claudius, 320,000 being slain, 269. Aurelian ceded Dacia to them in 272, but they long troubled the empire.

After the destruction of the Roman empire by the Heruli, the *Ostrogoths*, under Theodoric, became masters of the greater part of Italy, where they retained their dominion till 553, when they were finally conquered by Narses, Justinian's general. After ravaging eastern Europe, their great leader, Theodoric, established a kingdom in Italy, which lasted from 493 to 553.

*Visigoths*, separated from the Ostrogoths about 330. The Emperor Valens, about 369, admitted them into the Roman territories upon the condition of their serving when wanted in the Roman armies; and Theodosius the Great permitted them to form distinct corps commanded by their own officers. In 400, under Alaric, they invaded Italy, and in 410 took Rome. They founded their kingdom of Toulouse, 414; conquered the Alani, and extended their rule into Spain, 414; expelled the Romans in 468; and finally were themselves conquered by the Saracens, under Muza, in 711, when their last king, Roderic, was defeated and slain. Their rule in France ended with their defeat by Clovis at Vouglé, in 507.

*Franks*, or Freeman, the designation of Germanic tribes of the Middle Rhine, who successfully invaded Gaul and other parts of the Roman empire and gave to France its name, which they called Frankenric or Frankenland.

*Avars*, barbarians who ravaged Pannonia, and troubled the Eastern Empire in the sixth and seventh centuries.

(Adapted partly from Haydn's "Book of Dates.")

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## MEDIÆVAL COMMERCE.

### D.—DISTINCTIONS OF MOHAMMEDAN RACES. Page 82.

*Arabs*.—In A.D. 622, the Arabians, under the name of Saracens, followers of Mohammed (born at Mecca, 570), their general and prophet, commenced their course of conquest. The Arabs greatly favoured literature and the sciences, especially mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry.

*Saracens*, an Arab race, the first disciples of Mohammed, who within forty years after his death (632) had subdued a great part of Asia, Africa, and Europe. They conquered Spain in 711 *et seq.*, and (under Abdarrhaman) established the caliphate of Cordova in 755, which gave way to the Moors in 1237. The empire of the Saracens closed when Bagdad was taken by the Tartars, 1258.

*Moors*, formerly the natives of Mauritania, but afterwards the name given to the Numidians and others, and now applied to the natives of Morocco and the neighbourhood. They assisted Genseric and the Vandals in their invasion of Africa, 429, and frequently rebelled against the Roman emperors. They resisted for a time the progress of the Arab Mohammedans, but were overcome in 707, and in 1019 by them were introduced into Spain, where their arms were long victorious. In 1063 they were defeated in Sicily by Roger Guiscard. The Moorish kingdom of Granada was set up in 1237, and lasted till 1492, when it fell before Ferdinand V. of Castile, mainly owing to discord. The expulsion of the Moors from Spain was decreed by Charles V., but not fully carried into effect till 1609, when the bigotry of Philip III. inflicted this great injury upon his country. About 1518 the Moors established the piratical states of Algiers and Tunis. In the history of Spain the Arabs and Moors must not be confounded.

*Turks*, Turcomans. The Turks were originally a tribe of Tartars; but by incorporation with the peoples they have conquered, they must be regarded as a mixed race. About 760 they obtained possession of a part of Armenia, called from them Turcomania. They afterwards gradually extended their power; but in the thirteenth century, being harassed in their new possessions by other Tartar tribes, they returned to Asia Minor.

The religious distinctions are thus defined :—

*Islam* is the name of the religion itself, and signifies *submission to God*.

*Moslem, Moslemann, Mossolmann, Mussoulman, Mussulman*, that is, *true believer*, is the name given to the professors of Islamism; but, among Europeans, they are generally called Mahometans, from the name of their prophet, whose name, in Roman characters, is thus variously translated from the sacred Arabic of the Koran—*Mahomet, Mohammed, Mahommed, Muhammed, Mahmoud, Mechemet, Mehmet, &c., &c.*

*Koran*, or *Alkoran*, signifying the *Reading* or *Lesson*, is the volume of precepts and doctrines revealed at various intervals to the Prophet by the angel Gabriel, and the infallible manual of the faith and duty of true believers.

*Hegira*, or *Hejirah (the flight)*, July 16, A.D. 622, the date of the flight of the Prophet from Mecca, and the commencement of the Mohammedan era.

*Khalif*, or *Caliph*, is equivalent to the English term vicar; *Emir*, commander.

(Modified from Haydn's "Book of Dates," &c.)

#### E.—CURIOUS LETTER ON AMBER. FIFTH CENTURY. Page 102.

A royal letter upon this commodity, written by the greatest king of the fifth century, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, and conqueror of Italy, is one of the curiosities of literature. The *Hæsti*, or men of the *East*, had sent a present of amber, apparently asking some favour in return. The Grand Monarch writes, through his secretary, that he has been pleased to accept it, and that it has gratified him to discover that his fame has reached so distant a land as the Amber Coast. Perhaps they would like to know what amber really was. It is very light, and the wave of ocean brings it. This, perhaps, they might know. But they did not seem to know whence it came. Now this may be learned from a certain writer named Cornelius (*i.e.*, Pliny), who says that it is the juice of a tree which grows in certain islands of the ocean, and becomes solid under the heat of the sun. This is why it is called *succunum*, from *succus*, juice. It is an exuded metal, delicate and translucent, saffron-coloured and flame-coloured. It is right that they should know all this, or, rather, that they should know that he (Theodoric) knows it. "Go on then," he continues, "in the ways that your love for us has opened; for the friendship of wealthy kings is profitable. For a small gift they will make great returns. Your ambassadors will tell you more." Such is the gist of the curious epistle that was addressed to these barbarians in the Latin of the fifth century by the learned Cassio-



dorus, to whom, rather than to his royal master, in all probability belongs the credit of the explanation.

#### F.—MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Page III.

As regards the monetary system of the Middle Ages, the precious metals, when uncoined, were weighed by the pound and half pound or mark, for which different standards were in use, the most generally recognised being those of Troyes and Cologne. Of coined money there existed a perplexing variety, which made it almost impossible to ascertain the relative value, not only of different coins, but of the same coin of different issues. This resulted from the emperor or king conferring the right of coinage upon various lords spiritual and temporal, from whom it was ultimately acquired by individual towns. The management was in most cases entrusted to a company, temporary or permanent, inspected by an official, the coin-tester, originally appointed by the sovereign, but afterwards by the company, and confirmed by the king or bishop. The house where the process of coining was performed was called the mint, and the company who held the rights of coinage in fee was known as the Mint House Company, or simply the House Company. Very generally the office was held by the Corporation of Goldsmiths. The want of perfect supervision led to great debasement of the currency, especially in Germany and France; but in England and Italy the standard was tolerably well maintained. Payments in silver were much more common than in gold. Before the Crusades the only gold coins known in Europe were the Byzantine *solides*, the Italian *tari*, and Moorish *maurabotini*. The *solidi*, which were originally of 23 to 23½ carat gold, but subsequently very much deteriorated, were reckoned as equal to twelve silver denars. They passed current in Southern and Eastern Europe, Hungary, Germany, Poland, and Prussia. In Livonia they were known as the *solthing*, and in Russia either gave rise to or were confounded with the *solotnik*, still used as a weight in that country. *Solde*, *sol*, and *sou* are only repeated transformations of the name of the coin, which have been accompanied by still greater changes in its value.

The *tari* or *tarentini* derived its name from the Italian town where it was originally struck. It was less generally known than the *solides*, and was equal to one-fourth the latter in value. The *maurabotini* or *sarazens* were only of 15 carats gold. The name survives in the Spanish *maravedi*, which, however, like the *sou*, is now made of copper instead of gold.

In the thirteenth century *augustals*, *florentines*, and *ducats*, or *zecchins* (sequins), were coined in Italy. The first-mentioned, the

weight of which was half an ounce, were named in honour of Frederick II., who was Roman Cæsar and Augustus in 1252. The *florentines*, also known as *gigliati*, or lilies, from the arms of Florence, which they bore on one side, with the effigy of John the Baptist on the reverse, were of fine gold and lighter than the *solidi*, about 64 being reckoned equal to the mark. The ducats or zecchins were of Venetian origin, receiving their first name from the Duca or Doge, and the other from the Zecca or Mint House. They were somewhat less in value than the *florentines*, 66 or 67 being counted to the fine mark.

Nearly equivalent in value to these Italian coins were the gold guilders coined in the fourteenth century in Hungary and the Rhine regions. The Rhenish guilder was of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  or 23 carats fine, and in weight  $\frac{3}{8}$  of a mark of Cologne. The silver guilder was of later production, and the name is now used as equivalent to florin. Those coined under Philip the Bold after 1360 were known as *philips*, or, from the shield which they bore, Philip's-schilden, Philip's shields. The name appears in various languages a schild d'or, scuto, scudo, écu d'or. Smaller gold pieces were also coined in those parts of Europe where trade existed, under the name of gold pennies, gold denars or oboluses. In addition to these more generally known coins, a great variety of others were in local use in every country. Among these were the *franks* of various degrees of fineness, English *nobles* of more than 23 carats, and Flemish *reals*, equal in value to one and a quarter *florentines*.

In silver payments, the metal being usually nearly pure, it was common to compute by weight, coins and uncoined bullion being alike put into the scale, as is still the case in some Eastern countries. Hence the origin of the pound, livre, or mark. The most widely diffused silver coin was the *denarius*, which was, as in ancient Roman times, the  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a pound. The name *pending* or *pennig*, by which the denarius was known among the old Teutonic nations, seems to be connected with *pendere*, to weigh out or pay; as the other ancient Teutonic coin, the *sceat*, was with *sceoton*, to pay, a word which is preserved in the modern phrases "*scot free*," "*pay your scot*." The first mention of this coin occurs in the laws of the West Saxon King Ina (four generations before Egbert), at the end of the seventh century. It then weighed  $22\frac{1}{2}$  Troy grains, or  $\frac{1}{16}$  of the Anglo-Saxon pound weight. Under succeeding kings it steadily decreased in weight, being of 18 grains in the time of Edward III. and only 8 grains in that of Edward VI. In Elizabeth's reign it was finally fixed at  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an ounce of silver, or 7.42 grains, and exchanged for a copper coin of the same value.

Half-pennies and farthings were not known in the earliest times, but the penny was deeply indented by two cross lines, which enabled it to be broken into quarters or *farthings* (feordings or fourthings). From

the indented *cross* the denarius was known in Germany as the *kreutzer*.\*

As already mentioned, the mark (half-pound) contained 10 solidi, of 12 denarii. But this proportion was altered and overturned in the course of time, so as to render it almost impossible to estimate the comparative values of coins of the same name in use in different places. As a specimen of these fluctuations, there were reckoned to the mark—

In France (in early times)	. . . . .	11 solidi.
„ Cologne, Holland }	the best . . . . .	11½ „
„ Bremen, &c. }	inferior . . . . .	12 „
„ Maintz . . . . .	. . . . .	13½ „
„ Strasbourg . . . . .	. . . . .	20 „
„ Hildesheim . . . . .	. . . . .	24 „
„ Brabant . . . . .	. . . . .	30 „
„ Flanders . . . . .	. . . . .	33½ „
„ Swabia . . . . .	. . . . .	36 „

On account of the denarius having thus become practically unrecognisable, a new division of the silver mark was made in the beginning of the fourteenth century into 60 parts, distinguished from the old coins as *grossi-denarii*, gros-denars, grossen, groschen, grooten or groats, worth from two to four of the old pennies. We find them in use at Tours in 1350, and in Barcelona they became the commonest coin in circulation.

The relative value of gold and silver was not uniform.

In France and Germany it fluctuated between 1 : 9 and 1 : 16, the usual limits being, however, 1 : 10 and 1 : 12.

In England the proportion was in early times as low as 1 : 9, rising in the thirteenth century to 1 : 10, and afterwards to 1 : 12.

In Italy, at first 1 : 13½, but from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century about 1 : 16½.

With such a diversity of coinage, it was necessary to settle any mercantile transaction in the currency of the place. Not only would sellers have refused to accept money whose value was unknown to them, but in many places they were forbidden to do so by law. Merchants attending foreign markets therefore brought with them a quantity of fine silver and gold in bars, which they exchanged on the spot for the current coin of the place, to be used in settling their transactions; the balance remaining on hand they re-exchanged for

\* The copper coinage of recent reigns has varied considerably in weight.

In the reign of George III. the penny weighed 16 to the pound.

In the reign of William IV. the penny weighed 23 to the pound.

In the reign of Victoria (bronze) the penny weighs 44 to the pound.

Halfpence and farthings in Victoria's reign show even greater disparity.

bullion before leaving. The business of money-changing, which thus arose, was a very lucrative one, and was originally mostly in the hands of Italian merchants, chiefly Lombards and Florentines. In Italy the money-changers formed a guild, members of which settled in the Netherlands, England, Cologne, and the Mediterranean ports. In these different towns and countries they kept up a close connection with each other and with Italy, and at an early period (before the thirteenth century) commenced the practice of *assignments*, i.e., receiving money in one place, to be paid by an order upon their correspondents in another, thus saving the merchant who travelled from country to country the expense and risk of transporting specie. In the thirteenth century this branch of business was in extensive use at Barcelona, and in 1307 the tribute of "Peter's pence" was sent from England to the Pope through the Lombard exchangers. From 5 to 6 per cent., or more, was charged upon the transaction, and the profitable nature of the business soon led many wealthy and even noble Italian families to employ their money in this way. They established a member of their firm in each of the great centres of trade to receive and pay on their account. In Florence alone (about 1350) there are said to have been eighty such houses. Among these the *Frescobaldi*, *Bardi*, and *Peruzzi* are well-known names; but the chief place was taken by the famous Florentine house of the *Medici*, who had banking houses established in sixteen of the chief cities of Europe and the Levant. In the north of Europe, before long, similar arrangements were established by the merchants of the Hanseatic League. The security and convenience of this mode of transferring money by assignments or certificates of indebtedness gave it a great development in the commercial and maritime towns, and soon merchants who were not money-changers began to employ it in their dealings with each other. Most of those who traded with distant countries not only despatched commodities to these countries, but brought back with them a cargo of foreign productions. They had thus both debtors and creditors in the foreign country. The mode of payment by assignments enabled them to satisfy the claims of the latter by making over to them the certificates of indebtedness received from the former, thus dispensing alike with the necessity of transmitting money and of employing the exchangers, except for the purpose of collecting the balances. Assignments of this kind were drawn out in the form of letters, requesting the person by whom the money was due to pay it over to another party, named in the bill, on account of the writer, specifying also the time within which and the form in which the payment was to be made. They were thus known as letters, billets, or bills of exchange, and appear in Italy as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Among the earliest examples in existence are a letter of exchange, dated at Milan in 1325, payable within five

months at Lucca; one dated at Bruges, 1304, and payable at Barcelona; and another, dated at Bologna, 1381, payable in Venice, both according to *usance*, i.e., within the time and in the terms already established in the place. It has been well remarked, "The oldest known examples of bills of exchange have been found in Italy. The first writers who treat of bills are Italians: the Italian language furnishes the technical terms for drafts, remittances, currency, sight, *usance*, and discount, used in most of the languages of Europe." The laws affecting bills of exchange were gradually compiled out of the usages prevalent among the merchants who introduced them, and varied somewhat in different places. It was only at a later time that legislation concerned itself with the matter, though provision was made from the earliest periods for a prompt discharge of debts and engagements. Thus in the cities of Flanders it was provided by the government that when a merchant of the Hansa received an assignment upon a trader of those towns, who failed to fulfil his engagements, the burghesses of the town should be bound over as a security. In Barcelona also the law rigorously required that the fulfilment of an obligation should take place within twenty-four hours from its contraction.

Of other branches of banking the germs also appeared in the Middle Ages. Venice seems to have been the first city to possess something answering to a deposit bank. The merchants here united in forming a common treasury, where they deposited sums of money, upon which they gave assignments or orders for payment to their creditors, and to which similar assignments due to themselves were paid and added on to the amount at their credit. The *taula di cambi* (exchange counter) of Barcelona was a similar institution, as also the Bank of St. George, at Genoa. Notwithstanding the zeal with which the Church decried the taking of interest or usury, and the popular prejudice against the usurer, securities in the Middle Ages, as now, fetched their value. The only result of the interference of the Church, and the more tardy action of the civil tribunals, was the resort to ingenious expedients in order to evade the law, while the rate of interest, of course, rose in proportion to the risk. In the time of Charlemagne it is said that it was accounted usury only when cent. per cent. was exacted; and in Italy during the thirteenth century from 12 to 20 per cent. was a common rate—for Christians, at least; Jews, who specially incurred the odium of the populace and the anathemas of the Church, were forbidden by Frederick II. to exact more than 10 per cent. The same rate seems to have prevailed in the Rhine provinces as early as the thirteenth century, although at Zurich 43½ per cent. was pronounced a legal rate by the town council, and at Lindau as much as 216 per cent. is said to have been exacted, doubtlessly under exceptional circumstances. Kings, emperors, and even popes, when pressed for money, had to submit to

hard conditions, for with such borrowers the money-lender needed to make large profits on account of the risk he ran of losing not only his money but his life.

The Sanscrit numerals found by the Arabs in India, and with slight modifications in form brought westward by them in their conquests, began to be known in the south of Europe in the eleventh century, principally, however, in translations from Arabic works on arithmetic and algebra. Their first application to mercantile calculations was made by a merchant of Pisa, Leonardo Tibonacchi, ironically called by his fellow-townsmen Bigollone (Bighellone, *i.e.* Thickhead), in a work written by him in 1202. The introduction of this decimal system of notation, and of the Arabic numerals, in the room of the old Roman letters, which were extremely inconvenient for any processes of computation, must have immensely facilitated the art of keeping accounts and the power of abstruse reckoning. Similar advances were made in the theory and practice of book-keeping, in which the Italians elaborated the beautifully complete and self-checking system of double entry.

G.—EXTENT OF THE WORLD ACTUALLY KNOWN PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERIES OF VASCO DE GAMA AND COLUMBUS. Page 116.

Ancient and mediæval commerce was restricted within the narrow limits of the Mediterranean Sea. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians indeed sailed as far as the Tin-islands (England); but they never left the coast. That the Phœnicians obtained amber from Prussia by the Baltic is highly improbable—it was more probably brought from Prussia by the overland route to Trieste. Hanno, son of Himilco, a Carthaginian mariner, according to Herodotus, circumnavigated Africa. This had already been done by the Phœnicians, B.C. 610, incited by Pharaoh Necho. The Arabs, as also the Chinese before them, sailed by the magnetic needle, of which they named the poles—the one the cold, the other the warm pole (Zoron and Ason). For many centuries the knowledge of navigation by the mariner's compass was lost to Europe. In the year 1302 it was again brought to light by Flavio Gioja, or Gioia, an Italian, who claims to have invented the suspension of the needle upon a point, and once more navigators ventured boldly out to sea. Africa, as far south as the 28° N. lat., and the western and central portions of Asia were known, but not the extent to which that continent stretched to the east. The only authentic information about the east of Asia was that obtained from the two monks, Carpin and William of Ruysbroeck, consecrated in the reign of Louis IX., 1259, who were sent there to spread Christianity, and who travelled overland through Tartary; and the information spread

by the Venetian Marco Polo. He first sailed, 1293, over the Indian Ocean with a fleet of fourteen ships back to the Arabian Gulf. He first renewed the idea of the circumnavigation of Africa. Theodosius Doria and Ugolino Rivaldus, with some other citizens of Genoa, travelled in two galleys around Southern Africa, and one of the galleys afterwards arrived at Abyssinia. The crew were made prisoners in that place. The annalist and navigator, Antonio Usidomaze, who in 1455 undertook a journey to Guinea, reports it as a fact that he had seen one individual who was a descendant of the Abyssinian prisoners. Also, about 1340, adventurers from Castile, in Spain, had discovered the Canary Islands.

#### H.—COMMERCIAL LEGISLATION AND MARITIME LAW. Page 120.

Maritime law seems to have been mainly based upon the ancient institutions of Rhodes, of which a compilation was formed at Byzantium. A compilation was made at Barcelona in or about the twelfth century, known as "*Il Consolato del Mare*" and "*Les Bonnes Coutumes de la Mer*," known afterwards as the "*Jugements, Rooles; or, Sea-rights of Oleron*."

The different codes known in history as the "*Jugements of Damme*," the "*Laws of West Capelle*," in Zealand, and the famous Water-right of Wisby in Gothland, "*Hogeste Water-recht tho Wisby*," which prevailed in the Baltic, as well as the maritime laws of Amsterdam, Enkhuysen, and Stavoren in the fifteenth century, are all commentaries upon the old "*Rooles d'Oleron*."

Tribunals for the settlement of questions in maritime and commercial law arose in many towns. The example of Italy, Sicily, and Barcelona, was followed by Bremen, Rostock, Wismar, Lübeck, and Wisby. In the Sicilian towns, these tribunals, composed of merchants and ship-owners, were entrusted with penal jurisdiction. Import, export, and transport dues were levied upon commodities, in addition to a charge for the escort given to merchants. There existed no regular or general system applicable to all places, times, and persons, or even as to the form in which the imposts were payable. Towns at times received freedom from tolls, in return for service rendered to their rulers, or in order to foster trade; others obtained an immunity for a period of years, or for certain days in each year to encourage the rise of a market. Traders and monasteries often purchased, or otherwise obtained, immunity from tolls, so far as the sovereign could grant them, for, notwithstanding the law that no one should levy a toll without the sanction of the king, in many cases the feudal magnates established tolls in the vicinity of their own castles, and severely mulcted the passing merchant. The legal duties were not always payable in money, but in

specified articles of which the country was supposed to be in want; so that the *shipman*, no matter what his proper cargo, was obliged to carry with him a stock of wine, cheese, herrings, copper kettles, and above all *pepper*, an article of great request. Political economy as a science was not known, and its principles were little regarded. In a commercial treaty between Florence and Sienna, indeed, we meet with the noteworthy principle that "*free trade* is a good which ought to be constantly promoted, and even during war preserved intact." This was a very exceptional case of sagacious policy, for the commercial legislation of the period was replete with violations of the freedom of trade, either by restrictions or by charters, conferring a monopoly for the benefit of particular places or persons.

#### I.—BELIEF IN THE SPHERICITY OF THE EARTH BEFORE THE TIME OF ITS CIRCUMNAVIGATION. Page 124.

The suppositions and grounds on which Columbus founded his plan for finding a passage by sea to the East Indies, by sailing in a westerly direction, were as follows:—

1. That various writers, both ancient and modern, had expressed their belief that our earth was a sphere, and the possibility of its circumnavigation. Columbus believed the circumference of the earth to be less than it really is, basing his estimate on the calculations of the Arabian astronomers, Alfraganus and Mohammed Ibn Cottair al Fergani, in the tenth century. Aristotle (*de Cælo* II. 14), and Pliny (*Nat. His.*, lib. vi. cap. 17), regarded the expansion of Asia to the east as equal to about a third part of the earth's circumference. Strabo (*lib. xv. page 1015*) gives the interval between the west of Europe and the east of Asia as 130,000 stadii, or 3,250 geographical miles, which is far greater than it really is, the distance being only 2,600 geographical miles, according to Hoffman. Roger Bacon supported the view of Strabo and Aristotle in his "*Opus Majus*." Columbus wrote a treatise on these opinions, and also on the course to be taken in order to test their truth, which was sanctioned by the great Florentine astronomer (Paulus Physicus); and after Marco Polo and Ruysbroeck had described the countries (China and Japan) Columbus was prepared to venture all, even life itself, on the accuracy of this spherical or globular theory.

2. These opinions were corroborated by the finding of reeds, cut poles and beams, as also the bodies of men of a race wholly unknown, which had been stranded on the coast of the Canary Islands. Humboldt proves that it was not the discovery of the fabulous island of Atlantis, mentioned by Plato, not the finding of the islands of the Antilles and the seven cities, which kindled that inextinguishable ardour of Columbus,



but the discovery of a western sea-path to the East Indies shorter than that by the Cape of Good Hope.

These settled convictions were opposed to the superstitious theology and the belief of the learned men of his day, who regarded the hot zone as uninhabited, and inaccessible to ships.

#### K.—ORIGIN OF CRAFTS OR TRADE GUILDS. Page 169.

The guilds were, in their origin, purely voluntary associations of fellow-craftsmen, for the purposes of mutual protection and assistance, and for the development of their special trade. In England and North Germany they were at first little more than *benefit societies*, supplying from a common purse the funeral expenses of the members and the cost of public entertainments. The goldsmiths, silversmiths, and armourers who spread from Italy first took rank as freemen, and became incorporated.

A fishers' guild existed at Ravenna as early as 943. In Germany the corporation of guilds, at Worms, received its charter from the bishop in the first years of the twelfth century. The commoner and more necessary trades were the first to form guilds; such were weavers and clothworkers, furriers, linen-weavers, fishmongers, tailors, gloves, tanners, butchers, and bakers. As wealth and luxury increased other trades established guilds, such as jewellers, cooks, confectioners, gold and tapestry workers, spectaclemakers, clock and watch makers. Clocks began to be generally placed in the belfries of churches and public buildings in the fourteenth century. The devotional-spirit, as well as the passions and vices of the Middle Ages, gave rise to special trades; in this way the paternosterers, or makers of rosaries, and the dice-cutters were added to the number of guilds. The number varied greatly in different towns and countries; allied crafts, in one place united into a single company, were in another subdivided. In Pisa there were but seven trade guilds, in Bergamo eighteen, in Florence twenty-one, seven higher and fourteen lower; while the number extended to twenty-six in Bologna, and to more than fifty in Paris. The Trades' Companies of London, seventy-four in number, were the basis of the municipal and subsequently of the parliamentary representation, for the burgesses were at first exclusively confined to the members of the various Trades' Companies.

The following is the London list at the present day, a few having become extinct since the Middle Ages:—Apothecaries, Armourers and Brasiers, Bakers, Barbers, Basketmakers, Blacksmiths, Bowyers, Brewers, Broderers, Butchers, Carmen, Carpenters, Clockmakers, Clothworkers, Coachmakers and Coach-harnessmakers, Cooks, Coopers, Cordwainers, Curriers, Cutlers, Distillers, Drapers, Dyers, Fanmakers,

Farriers, Feltmakers, Fishmongers, Fletchers, Founders, Framework Knitters, Fruiterers, Girdlers, Glass Sellers, Glaziers, Glovers, Gold and Silver Wire-drawers, Goldsmiths, Grocers, Gunmakers, Haberdashers, Horners, Innholders, Ironmongers, Joiners, Leather Sellers, Lorimers, Makers of Playing-cards, Masons, Mercers, Merchant-tailors, Musicians, Needlemakers, Painters (otherwise Painter-stainers), Patten-makers, Pewterers, Plasterers, Plumbers, Poulterers, Sadlers, Salters, Scriveners, Shipwrights, Skinners, Spectaclemakers, Stationers, Tallow-chandlers, Tilers and Bricklayers, Tinplate-workers, Turners, Upholders,\* Wax-chandlers, Weavers, Wheelwrights, Woolmen.

An early English alliterative poem of about the early part of the fifteenth century contains the following passage, which, although applied to a more ancient town, yet gives a vivid picture of the industrial activity of an English town of the fourteenth century :—

“There were stallis by the strete stondyng for peopull,  
 [For] Werkmen in to won and thaire wares shewe,  
 Bothe to selle and to se as thaim selfe lyked,  
 Of al the craftes to ken as there course askit :—  
 Goldsmythes, Glovers, Girdillers noble,  
 Sadlers, Souters, Semsteris fyn [clever, cunning];  
 Taliours, Telers, Turners of vesselles;  
 Wrightes, Websters, Walkers of Clothe;  
 Armurers, Arowsmythis, with Axes of Werre;  
 Belmakers, Bokebynders, Brasiers fyn;  
 Marchandes, Monymakers, Mongers of fych [fishmongers];  
 Parnters, Painters, Pynners also [printers];  
 Bochers, Bladsmythis, Baxters amonge;  
 Fferrers, Flecchours, fele men of Crafte;  
 Taverners, Tapsters, all the toune over;  
 Sporiors, Spicers, Spynners of Clothe;  
 Cokes, Condlers, Coriours, of ledur;  
 Carpentours, Cotelers, Coucheours fyn;  
 With Barburs bigget in bourders of the stretes;  
 With all maister-men that on molde dwellis,  
 [H]onestly en [h]abit in entris about.  
 There were bild by the bankes of the brode stremes,  
 Mynes full mony, made for to grynde,  
 For solas of the Cité that suet hom to.  
 In that Cité for sothe, as saith us the story,  
 Mony gaumes were begonnen the grete for to solas;  
 The chekker was choisly there chosen the first,

\* “Upholder”—old feminine “upholdster,” “upholster,” whence modern “upholster-er.”

The draghtes, the dyse, and other dregh gaumes.  
 Soch soteltie thai soght to solas hom with ;  
 The tables, the top, tregetre also ;  
 And in the moneth of May mekill thai usit,  
 With floures and fresshe bowes fecchyng of somer :  
 Somur qwenes, and qwaintans and other qwaint gaumes."

*The Gest Historiale of Troy*, l. 1580—1627.

Each guild constituted as it were one family, the several places of apprentices, journeymen, and masters being regulated by the strictest rules. At the head of the company was the guild-master or captain of the guild, and when the companies were under arms they marched under their own leaders and colours. In most countries they acquired in course of time great political power, and exercised an important influence in the struggle waged by the industrial classes to enfranchise themselves from aristocratic thralldom. In the republics and free towns of Italy, North Germany, and the Netherlands, the guilds even obtained a share in the government, indirectly too in England, as furnishing the burgesses or borough electors.

An expansion of the system of trade guilds developed into the commercial leagues characteristic of the period. The general insecurity, the absence of international bonds, of regular means of communication, and of any system of credit, made it still necessary for the trader to repair in person to the places whence he obtained his commodities, as well as to those where he disposed of them, and to carry along with him the precious metals which were the medium of his purchases and the proceeds of his sales. As in the period of antiquity, merchants trading with one town or country often united together for mutual protection and support; but the organizing spirit of mediæval times converted these unions into something more permanent than were the ancient caravans. They became, in fact, trading guilds, which aimed at securing privileges and concessions, or even monopolies, in foreign countries; the duties of the members towards each other being regulated by statutes, the execution of which was entrusted to the president, called in the North the Hansa-graf or alderman, and in the Mediterranean cities the Consul. In most countries they eventually obtained charters, allowing them to erect warehouses, churches, and hospitals for themselves. In all internal matters, moreover, they were allowed to retain the laws and usages of their own country, being represented in their dealings with the local government by their consul or alderman. Among the earliest of these associations which exercised such an important influence upon mediæval trade was that of the merchants of South Germany, for trade with Italy. In England similar trading companies were instituted as early as the twelfth century; in

France, the Parisian Hansa had a monopoly of the trade on the Seine between Paris and Rouen. None, however, attained to such importance and power as the North German Hansa, which, as we have seen in the text, gained for itself not only a commercial but a political independence.

Oppressive as the guild system became in later times, when antiquated forms and observances stood in opposition to the fresh spirit of a new era, it was in its origin a genuine development of the circumstances of the time, and operated beneficially upon the progress of society.

#### L.—ASSOCIATION OF EARLY TRADE AND CHURCH FESTIVALS. MARKETS, EXCHANGES. Page 178.

The earliest revival of traffic in the West commenced at the consecrated shrines, episcopal seats, and monastic towns, where the "God's peace" which protected the multitudes that thronged to worship, gave scope likewise for the display of goods and interchange of commodities. Hence, in most of the Western languages, a *mass* or *mess* is synonymous with a *fair*—compare the Leipsic *mess*; and the word *fair* itself, derived from the Latin *feriæ*, holidays, indicates that it was on the holy or feast days that the first markets were held.

The association of early trade with the Church festivals made the immediate vicinity of the churches the earliest trading quarter of the towns and villages. Here the stalls, booths, and benches of the traders were erected, and in the nearest streets and squares the permanent booths, or shops and warehouses, arose. Thus, in London, St. Paul's Churchyard was from very early times a great commercial centre; and Paternoster Row, Cloth Fair, Cornhill, and Cheapside still recall the time when the streets in the immediate vicinity were occupied each by its own class of traders. As public security increased, and with it an extended traffic, exchanges and market-halls were erected. The clothworkers were among the earliest to possess such buildings. Thus meat-markets, fish-markets, hay-markets, linen-markets arose. In many towns the halls became celebrated for their architecture and decorations. The growing amount of monetary transactions, arising from international trade, led to an arrangement adopted first by the money-changers of Italy, and subsequently introduced by them into the towns on the Rhine and Danube, and eventually throughout Europe. A particular place was chosen, where they assembled at specified hours for the despatch of business and settlement of cash transactions. Such a place, from the chief purpose which it at first fulfilled, was called an Exchange, in France the *Bourse*. The contributions of the merchants, the care of the municipality, or

the private efforts of benefactors, often provided for these meetings spacious open halls, whose grandeur rendered them, as in the case of the Royal Exchange in London, ornaments worthy of the first cities of Europe. The ordinary markets were held once a week, or oftener; but the great fairs, or masses, instituted under the sanction of the lords temporal and ecclesiastical, became sometimes the object of special regulation by the Pope himself. They took place once, twice, or three times a year, and were often prolonged over the space of two or three weeks. During this period the *market-peace* afforded security to the multitudes who congregated together, and the payment of certain prescribed dues entitled strangers to exhibit their wares. Many restrictions were, however, laid upon trade, and edicts of special severity were directed against *forestalling*, that is, transacting any business before the opening of the fair, by proclamation of the lord superior, or his officer, from the market-cross; as well as against *engrossing the market*, i.e., buying up the stock of any commodity in order to sell it again at an enhanced price.

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## MODERN COMMERCE.

### M.—THE INSTITUTION OF THE MESTA. Page 196.

Another of the evils which afflicted Spain was, and still is, the Mesta, an incorporated company of proprietors of migratory sheep, who are invested with many exclusive privileges highly prejudicial to the interests of agriculture. The Mesta originated in an alliance, formed between the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains about the year 1556, for the purpose of placing their flocks and herds under the protection of the laws; and in process of time it contrived not only to monopolise the whole herbage of the kingdom, but also to convert much of the arable land into open pasture. This injurious association consists of nobles, persons in power, members of wealthy monasteries and members of ecclesiastical chapters, who claim and exercise the right of feeding their flocks on the pasture lands all over the kingdom, and almost free of expense. It has caused these privileges to be digested into a regular code; has instituted tribunals of its own for punishing at pleasure any infraction of its rights, and actually enjoys the complete monopoly of the pasturage, and consequently of the wool trade of Spain. Estramadura has suffered most severely from the scourge from its vicinity to the mountains of Leon and Castile, where the flocks of the Mesta have their summer pasturage, and from and to which they migrate periodically according to the season.—Malte-Brun and Balbi.

## N.—ORIGIN AND MEANING OF COLONIES. Page 259.

A colony is the settlement of a people in a foreign country; it presupposes that a portion of the population have left their old home in their native land, and have established for themselves a new home abroad. Among the ancients, especially the Greeks, the colonies originated in political causes and changes, or in consequence of protracted wars, revolutions, and over-population, which made emigration a necessity, but afterwards the Greek colonies arose out of commercial considerations. The Romans used the term *colonia* from *colere*, to cultivate, plant, and from which the words culture and *cultus* (worship) are derived. With them colonial settlements were only regarded as a means of consolidating their dominions, and were therefore mostly military colonies established for the purpose of spreading their language, customs, and laws amongst the people whom they had subdued, in order to give permanency to the Roman authority over them. The Romans, indeed, founded also a small number of commercial colonies. The nearer we approach to modern times so much the more does colonisation become commercial, the chief object being to obtain from the colonies produce which could be sold at a good profit in the home market. In reference to their diversity of produce, modern commercial colonies may be classed as follows:—

1. Mining colonies, established for the procuring the noble metals, gold and silver, as the Spanish colonies in America.
2. Agricultural and plantation colonies, where the soil is cultivated and the home market supplied by the colonists with valuable produce from the vegetable kingdom, such as sugar, cotton, coffee, and tobacco, as was the case originally with the English colonies in the West Indies and in North America.
3. Commercial colonies, properly so called, because used as intermediate places or stopping-places, being settlements having commercial warehouses, and therefore belonging to commerce. Even in modern times we find here and there political and religious causes which have given rise to new colonies, as in the colony of Pennsylvania, in North America, by William Penn (1680-83), whose followers secured there an asylum from persecution in England, purchasing the land from their Indian brothers like honest Christian men. Colonies thus established for industrial purposes, or to secure freedom of conscience, are those which sooner or later arrive at wealth and political independence, as in the case of the United States of North America.

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